DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 270 377 SO 017 217

TITLE Student Papers in Local History.
INSTITUTION Johnson County Community Coll., Overland Park, KS. Johnson County Center for Local History.
PUB DATE 86
NOTE 175p.
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Historical Materials (060)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Black Community; Churches; Community; Community Change; *Demography; Ethnic Distribution; Geographic Location; Indians; *Land Settlement; *Local History; *Migration; Orchestras; Place of Residence; Rural Areas; Rural Environment; *Rural Population; Social Characteristics; *Social Life; War
IDENTIFIERS *Kansas (Johnson County)

ABSTRACT

Thirteen papers on Kansas and Johnson County, Kansas history are presented. The papers were written by students in a course at the Johnson County Center for Local History or for independent study in local history. The papers are: "Conditions and Construction of Gardner Lake"; "The History of St. Joseph's Church, Shawnee, Kansas"; "Patrons of Husbandry"; "The First Fifty Years in Morse, Johnson County, Kansas"; "Social Life in Morse"; "German Alien Enemies During World War I in Johnson, Douglas, Miami, and Wyandote Counties"; "Symphonic Orchestras in Kansas City at the Turn of the Century: A Historical Perspective"; "Kansas and the Spanish-American War"; "The Developing Years of Emmanuel Baptist Church"; "Huron Cemetery"; "The Black Community of South Park, Merriam, Kansas: A Part of the Whole"; "Gardner, Kansas: A Demographic Study--1857-1925, A Personal View--1920-1984"; and "Shawnee Township: A Demographic Study of 1860, 1880, 1900." (BZ)

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INTRODUCTION

The papers presented here were done by students in the Local and Kansas History course at JCCC or for independent study in Local History. We at the Johnson County Center for Local History hope that they will be of value to those seeking information about the history of Johnson County and environs. While they are student work rather than scholarly investigations, they reflect careful study of particular topics in local history. The papers are reprinted essentially as they were handed in.

Lois Nettleship, Director

Johnson County Center
for Local History

CONDITIONS AND CONSTRUCTION OF GARDNER LAKE

by Charlie Close

When war broke out in Europe in 1914, most Kansans were isolationists and supported President Wilson's policy of neutrality. These beliefs, however, did not deter Kansans from taking advantage of the war time demand for wheat which resulted in an increase in wheat acreage from six million acres in 1913 to nine million acres in 1914.[1] Prior to the outbreak of World War I, corn was the primary crop in Kansas, but overseas demands quickly made wheat number one. The economy of the entire state improved as farmers switched from corn to wheat and in the western part of the state, plowed up land that had previously been uncultivated. These events contributed to the agricultural depression and dust storms of the late 20's and early 30's. Life in Kansas was affected in varying degrees by the dust storms and droughts, depending upon which part of the state you lived in. My research dealt with the agricultural and economic conditions that led up to the construction of Gardner Lake, in Gardner, Kansas, in 1934, and some of the long and short term effects of the construction of the lake.

While Kansas profited from agriculture during World War I, other states were pulled out of the recession of 1913-1914 by huge orders for war materials placed by the British and French.[2] This renewed prosperity increased wages for laborers and profits for farmers, but it also resulted in inflationary prices for goods and services.

> Kansas was enjoying unparalleled prosperity in 1918 and 1919, but there was already an uneasiness about growing inflation and declining prices for farm products.[3]

After 1920, there was a recession in farm prices in Kansas and between 1921 and 1925; the average prices received by farmers in Kansas was below the national average received by American farmers. There was a slight boom in early 1929, but even those prices were only 86% as high as before the war.[4] The stock market crash on Black Tuesday, October 29, 1929, marked the beginning of the depression for the rest of the country, and farm prices continued to fall and reached their lowest point in 1933.[5]

Kansas farmers were an independent, self reliant group and "did not regard agriculture as an industry which was subject to existing economic laws. Prosperity for agriculture, they reasoned, would come if the farmer worked hard enough and produced more than he had ever produced before."[6] It is ironic to note that overproduction was probably one of the major contributing factors to the agricultural depression. Farmers had not re-adjusted to pre-war levels of production and the overabundance resulted in lower prices for their goods.

The prosperous twenties led to the disastrous thirties and many Kansans, from all walks of life, lost their jobs, their homes or their farms during the depression. Mr. Shelby Jones was a bookkeeper and a "jack of all trades" at a garage in Goodland, Kansas, when the depression hit and things got so bad that the garage folded. He came to Gardner, to visit his brother, and was fortunate to be introduced to the head of the Kansas Emergency Relief Committee in the area; he was hired immediately to be the accountant for the Gardner Lake Project. Mr. Jones commented that he even had a raise in salary from $1.00 a day at the garage in Goodland to $2.50 a day as the accountant on the Gardner Lake Project.[7] Not everyone was as fortunate as Mr. Jones.

Farmers were frustrated all over the country. Violence broke out in Iowa in 1932-33, but it did not seem to affect Kansas farmers. William Allen White, Clyde Reed, Harold McGugin and Floyd Lynn of the Farmers Union felt conditions were not as bad in Kansas as in other states, perhaps because fewer lands were mortgaged than elsewhere and the redemption laws, the Federal Land Bank and incomes from oil leases softened the blow and made the Kansas farmer more passive.[8] Nevertheless, the number of farms in Kansas declined from 165,286 in 1920 to 156,327 in 1940. During the period of 1920 to 1935 tenant farms increased from 66,701 to 76,771.[9]

Farmers were not the only ones affected by the depression. Virginia Armstrong Johnson, a lifelong resident of Gardner, who was teaching school in Olathe at the time, vividly recalls that salaries were cut and stores operated on a "cash only" basis.[10] Another lifetime resident of Gardner, Jane Eyerly Jones remembered that things were so bad that her father, who operated a grocery store in Gardner, had to supplement his income by working as a carpenter at odd jobs.[11]

In addition to poor economic conditions, the Kansas farmer had to deal with the ever changing and unpredictable weather characteristic of the Great Plains. Poor farming techniques and a lack of water contributed to the erosion of valuable top soil by the wind and resulted in the well known Dust Bowl years from 1933 to 1937. "By 1934, the Soil Conservation Service estimated that 300,000,000 tons of soil had been moved by these storms."[12] Although dust storms typical of Kansas during this period were not as severe in the northeastern part of the state as it was in the west, the droughts took their toll on farmers' crops in Gardner. A series of droughts began in 1930 and persisted through each of the following ten years except 1935 and 1938. In 1935, there was extensive flooding. Information compiled at the Olathe Water Works Weather Station indicates that during the period from 1931 to 1940, there were only three years when the yearly precipitation was at or above the normal average for the time of 36.08". The rainfall in 1934 was 28.38", followed by 49.29" in 1935. Precipitation for 1936 was 20.36", followed by 23.00" in 1937 and 29.88" in 1938. It was 1940 before it was at or above average again.[13]

In addition to droughts, Kansas suffered through record breaking hot weather through most of the 1930's. The summers of 1934 and 1936 were especially hot. June 1933, July 1934 and August 1936 are on record as the hottest June, July and August, respectively, and the highest temperature ever recorded in Kansas, 121°, occurred on July 18, 1936, in Fredonia.[14]

Robert Kramer, a Gardner resident who was farming and raising hogs at the time of the droughts, recalled that the crops of 1934 were so poor that you "could take a shoe box and gather all the corn you raised in one field." He added that it was so dry that year that "even the cockleburrs and wild oats died, and the pastures cracked under your feet."[15]

Prices for wheat fell drastically during the depression and in neighboring Douglas county, wheat went from 99¢ a bushel in 1929 to 33¢ a bushel in 1931.[16] Mr. Kramer, however, recalled that he had held some wheat in storage for three years hoping the price would go up, and finally sold it for a net of 8¢ a bushel.[17]

Mr. Kramer and his wife, Blanche, were raising their children during the depression and drought years, and he felt that his children did not suffer as a result, because "everyone was pretty much in the same situation."[18] Gardner, at this time was predominantly an agricultural community with a population of approximately 400[19], so what was true of Gardner, was not necessarily true for the rest of the county. Even if people were not farmers by trade, they had gardens to help feed their families. The Johnson County Democrat of January 9, 1936, reported that more than $274,000 was spent on relief in Johnson County in 1934.[20] According to a report by Helen Kidd, Commissioner for the Poor, "of the 24,456 persons residing in Johnson County, approximately 2,900, or 11% are on relief, which marks little change from last year, when the figure was 2,905."[21]

By the time the droughts and dust storms were wreaking havoc on Kansas farmers, the state and national governments had moved to help alleviate some of the unemployment across the state. President Franklin D. Roosevelt began to implement his New Deal policies on March 6, 1933, when he declared a banking holiday and closed the banks to allow them to get their affairs in order. Kansas banks were in good shape because Governor Alf Landon had already moved to correct the banking problems in the state.[22] As early as 1932, Kansas relief efforts were coordinated by John Stutz of the Kansas Emergency Relief Committee which spent forty million dollars helping the needy of the state.[23] Among the New Deal measures enacted specifically to help farmers were the first and second Agricultural Adjustment Acts, to help farmers with their mortgages and the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment of 1936 which paid the farmer to plant soil conserving crops or to let his land lie fallow.[24] New Deal programs which aided the farmer indirectly were the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the Works Progress Administration which were responsible for the construction of public buildings, roads, bridges, lakes, and flood control and who planted more than two million young trees on the barren prairies as wind breaks.

Meanwhile, in Gardner, the local druggist, E. F. Alexander, "an influential Democrat in a predominantly Republican county, who could get things done"[25] saw the need for building farm ponds to help farmers and the community during droughts. He drove back and forth to work in Gardner each day and came to the conclusion that the ideal spot for a lake would be on the Kill Creek.[26] He enlisted the help of other interested businessmen and formed the Gardner Lake Corporation early in 1934. Their first order of business was to hold a sale of lots in January 1934. The home lots sold for $100 for 50 ft. homesites. They raised $18,000 and underwrote the remaining $6,000 to buy 359 acres of land for the site of the lake.[27] The work was begun by KERC, but by 1935, the WPA had taken over the actual construction of the dam and the lake.

The first undertaking was to build barracks to house the men who would be working on the project, as well as a mess hall. This was done by a small work force of mostly local people.[29] After the buildings were completed, the work began in earnest. The project called for clearing 158 acres of timberland, and the lake was to cover 131 acres with a shoreline of six miles.[30] In addition to the men who worked on the buildings, some local farmers hired out their teams of mules or horses to clear lumber and move dirt.[31]

By January 1936, there were 222 WPA men at work on the lake. Clarence Chesbro supervised the camp which had installed flood lights so that work could continue almost around the clock. Don Griffing, superintendent-engineer, worked the men in four shifts of five hours each.[32] Shelby Jones, accountant for the project, stated that depending upon the type of work that was done, the men made from $1.00 to $3.00 per week, working half day shifts, and were also provided with food, shelter, clothing and medical care, if necessary. The half shifts of five hours each allowed more men to be employed.[33]

Once the grading of the lake bed and construction of the dam had begun, workers gravitated to the area. The officials at the lake would periodically get a call from the Kansas City office to come and pick up another truckload of workers. Men from all walks of life and all areas of the country would be found on the project. Some stayed only a few days, while others stayed the length of the entire project. The WPA specified that the men had to be "unattached, single men," and Mr. Jones recalled that a great number of them were divorced and some were what we would consider "undesirables" now. Alcoholism was a significant problem among the workers.[34]

The reaction of the townspeople of Gardner to the project was generally favorable. Gardner was a "progressive community" according to local historian Virginia Armstrong Johnson, despite the fact that the big city of Olathe considered it a hick town![35] The rivalry between the two towns, which exists even today, was evident in an article in the June 4, 1936, Johnson County Democrat, which stated that "the completion of this lake means as much, if not more to Olathe than it does to Gardner, because hundreds of people will travel through this city enroute to the lake."[36]

By June of 1938, eveything was completed at the lake and the beach was sanded and ready for swimming. The buildings which were constructed to house and feed the workers were sold. Some were purchased and renovated into summer cottages while others were purchased and removed from the site. Mr. Robert Kramer, of rural Gardner, purchased one of the buildings which measured approximately 51' x 22' for $250, for storage.[37] Three of the buildings are currently in use at the Johnson County Free Fairgrounds. One has been remodeled for use as a concession stand, and the other two, serve as is, to house displays during the county fair and other special events.

Since the time Gardner Lake was completed, it has been an asset to the community. There is a public beach, and the six miles of shoreline is lined with homes of varying shapes and sizes. Some serve as summer retreats while others are year round residences.

The City of Gardner also gets all of its water for public and private use from the lake and uses ten to fifteen million gallons a month.[38] When the U.S. Navy was considering building a Naval Training Facility in the area during World War II, it was the availability of water from Gardner Lake and the proximity of the auxiliary airfield west of town that gave it to Gardner. Since then, the Industrial Airport has grown up around what was initially called the Olathe Air Station. Once again, friction was evident between Gardner and Olathe and influential politicians from Olathe "hot footed it to Washington and brought pressure to bear" so it was called the Olathe Naval Air Station for years

despite the fact it was barely one mile outside the Gardner city limits.[39] The name was later changed to the Johnson County Industrial Airport. The airport has the legal right to the first 100,000 gallons of water per day, from Gardner Lake, and uses approximately five to eight million gallons per month.[40]

The construction of ponds in Johnson County during the drought and depression was important to the agricultural and economic survival of the area. By April 11, 1935, four out of fifteen planned ponds in Johnson County had been completed.[41] By this time, relief efforts were a way of life, as they were all over the country. People who thought they would never accept help from the government saw it as their only means of survival. In January 1936, there were 471 heads of families on WPA work and about 200 heads of families on direct relief in Johnson County.[42]

Western Kansas could be easily identified with the dust bowl experiences of people living on the High Plains, but Gardner was not typical of Kansas in that regard. There were a few dust storms but the biggest concern for Gardnerites was the effect of a series of droughts and hot weather. The Gardner area did not have any wartime industries, other than agriculture, which was true for the entire state. The construction of Gardner Lake was a boost to the local economy because it employed local people as well as some of the transient unemployed, and because it added to the local tax base when homes were constructed on the lake sites that were purchased in 1934. It is also an asset because it was then and is now, a constant source of fresh water for the community and that has been instrumental in the construction of the Olathe Naval Air Station and the subsequent growth of the Industrial Airport, and it will continue to be a factor in the future growth of Gardner.

As far as farmers are concerned, the lake is a source of water for them so they don't have to dig deep wells or haul water to underground cisterns, but they still depend upon "Mother Nature" to rain at the right time and in the right amounts to insure the success of their crops, and hot weather and droughts could be just as devastating today as they were in the thirties.

FOOTNOTES

1. Robert W. Richmond, Kansas - Land of Contrasts, 2nd edition, St. Louis, Mo.: Forum Press, 1981, page 205.

2. Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, The American Pageant - A History of the Republic, Vol. II, 7th edition, Lexington Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1983, page 653.

3. Homer E. Socolofsky, Arthur Capper - Publisher, Politician, Philanthropist, Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1962, page 145.

4. William Frank Zornow, Kansas - A History of the Jayhawk State, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma, 1957, page 273.

5. Zornow, page 273.

6. Socolofsky, page 147.

7. Interview by author with Mr. Shelby Jones, November 27, 1984.

8. Zornow, page 275.

9. Zornow, page 274.

10. Interview by author with Virginia Armstrong Johnson on November 19, 1984.

11. Interview by author with Jane Eyerly Jones on November 27, 1984.

12. Zornow, page 276.

13. Climate of Kansas, Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Vol. LXVII, No. 285, Topeka, Kansas: Ferd Voiland, Jr., State Printer, 1948, page 123.

14. Climate of Kansas, page 127.

15. Interview by author with Robert Kramer on November 25, 1984.

16. David Dary, Lawrence - Douglas County, Kansas - An Informal History, Lawrence, Kansas: Allen Books, 1982, page 328.

17. Kramer interview.

18. Kramer interview.

19. Kramer interview and Jones interview.

20. Johnson County Democrat, Olathe, January 9, 1936, page 1.

21. Olathe Mirror, Olathe, January 16, 1936, page 1.

22. Dary, page 328.

23. Making Do and Doing Without, Readings on the Depression, Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas, Dept. of Continuing Education, 198_, page 25.

24. Bailey, page 757.

25. Johnson interview.

26. Johnson interview.

27. Virginia Armstrong Johnson, Gardner - Where the Trails Divide, 1st edition, published by Gardner Centennial Committee, 1957, page 13.

28. Jones interview.

29. Jones interview.

30. Johnson County Democrat, Olathe, June 4, 1934, page 1.

31. Jones interview.

32. Johnson County Democrat, Olathe, June 4, 1936, page 1.

33. Jones interview.

34. Jones interview.

35. Johnson interview.

36. Johnson County Democrat, Olathe, June 4, 1936, page 1.

37. Kramer interview.

38. Telephone conversation by author with Del Dolisi, employee of the City of Gardner, November 29, 1984.

39. Johnson interview.

40. Dolisi interview.

41. Johnson County Democrat, Olathe, January 9, 1936, page 1.

42. Olathe Mirror, Olathe, January 16, 1936, page 1.

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Interview by author on November 25, 1984, with Robert Kramer.

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THE HISTORY OF ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH

SHAWNEE, KANSAS

Lisa Feuerborn

Father Anton Kuhls came to the Kansas City area in 1864, when he was assigned to the Wyandott mission. He named his church St. Mary's, because he hoped it would be the mother of all churches in this area. Every three or four weeks he would make his way from St. Mary's (currently Fifth and Armstrong, K.C.K.) to Shawneetown, by horseback. While visiting the Catholics in the area, he would celebrate mass in the home of Peter Wertz, just a block east of the present site of St. Joseph's Church.

Father Kuhls' earliest record books show the baptismal dates of many of Shawnee's early residents:

> Jan. 1, 1867, baptized Catherine Nunnink, born of Elizabeth Nunnink; sponsors were Peter Wertz and Lida Nunnink.
>
> Jan. 1, 1867, baptized Melony child and Fulk child.
>
> March 10, 1867, baptized Bernerd Dreser, child of Anna Dreser; sponsors were Herman Spielbusch and Elizabeth Nunnink.[1]

In July 1868, Father Kuhls started a series of lectures in the public school building. He attracted many people to these meetings by his zeal and his simple explanation of the Catholic belief and practices. After a short time the number of people increased, and the need for their own building was necessary. At the time there were many Catholic, Irish immigrant railroad hands one mile east of Shawnee, working on the new Fort Scott Railroad. After these men heard Father Kuhls' proposal of building a church, they donated their services and money for the church. It was a simple frame church about 30 by 50 feet. They also built a parish residence, which faced south.

Immediately after the buildings were finished, St. Joseph secured its first resident pastor. Reverend Father Rudolph Duesterman arrived on July 28, 1868. At this time the average size crowd during a Sunday Mass was never over 30, and the collection usually amounted to about 45¢.

The parish of Shawnee at this time extended from St. Mary's parish in Kansas City, Ks., on the northeast to Olathe on the south, a distance approximating 25 miles.[2]

Father Deusterman brought to his church, socials, church picnics, and country dances, during the time he was there. When he left on April first, 1873, Father John Pichler took over, finding a congregation of about 40 members.

Father Pichler decided they needed a parochial school, and soon one was built behind the church. It was a two story brick building, with an outside stairway on the west side of the building. "The school has an enrollement of 107, with two teachers."[3] Father Pichler had done so well with his school that even non-Catholics attended.

On July 16, 1876, Rev. Albert Weikmann took over the charge of St. Joseph's Parish. During his eight years he started a mission in Lenexa, celebrating mass in the home of Charles De Clercq.

Many Belgian immigrants started settling in the Shawnee area and attended St. Joseph. With the coming of the automobile hundreds of families from Kansas City started settling in the suburbs and St. Joseph's began to grow.

The following is a list of the Priests who served after Father Weikmann:

Rev. William Shellberg, September 16, 1884, to May 1, 1890.
Rev. Joseph Hardes, May 1, 1890, to September 1, 1891.
Rev. John Bollweg, September 1, 1891, to August 1, 1892.
Rev. H. Eummelan, August 1, 1892, to January 1, 1893.
Rev. John Bollweg, January 1, 1893, to March, 1893.
Rev. Robert Loehrer, March 1893 to November 1894.[4]

On January 6, 1894, while Father Loehrer was still at the parish, a fire struck. No one knows the cause of the fire, and the church was a total loss. Only the altar vessels had managed to be saved. Services were held in the school until the new church was completed. It was finished during the time Father Frank Herberichs was pastor of St. Joseph, which was from November 1, 1894, to May, 1906. The church sat "on the east side of the parish block facing toward the east."[5]

The church was growing now and there were over 50 families belonging to the congregation. With more people, the activities began to increase. The school picnic became the biggest feature of the year. It was held every year late in the summer, and usually consisted of a chicken supper and a carnival. Everyone attended to support the benefit of the parish school. It was held at the picnic grounds at Hooker's Grove. It was "in a heavily wooded area north of the main road between Shawnee and Merriam."[6] The picnic became an annual event, one of the most memorable attractions was the raffling of a calf donated by the Zarda family. The picnic later moved to Shawnee Park and then to the parish grounds, The picnics were discontinued in 1959, when too many people started going away for the Labor Day weekend.

Father Herberichs was succeeded by the Rev. Theophilus P. Schwam. Father Schwam brought Benedictine Sisters from Atchison to teach at the school. There were still problems with the school, and it closed down for three years. In 1915, the school reopened with lay teachers.

On March 12, 1916, Father Schwam was replaced by the Rev. Hugh McDevitt. The parish at this time consisted of 75 families. He brought the Benedictine Sisters back to the school, and began to organize the parish. He wanted to get to know everyone in his parish, so he set out to do this by visiting them all in his old Ford car.

In 1916, a two story rectory was begun on the southeast corner of the parish block, and was finished in 1918. The Sisters then moved into the old rectory.

On March 22, 1919, they began quarrying stone for the new school. It was a large two story building just a few feet to the north of the old school house. It was completed in 1921, and the old school was torn down. They had built new

accommodations for the sisters to live in on the first floor. After a time, when the enrollment increased, the sisters moved over to the rectory and their quarters were made into more classrooms.

On October 18, 1924, Father McDevitt broke ground for the new church. Joe Fanning, currently of Shawnee remembers "his father telling how they used a horse and slip to dig out the basement. The slip would scoop the dirt up off the ground, and when it was full they would have to go to dump the dirt out."[5]

The rocks used to build the church were donated to St. Joseph by the Caenen quarries. The building was 50 feet wide and 110 feet long. The architecture was Romanesque with two large 75 foot towers in the front on each side of the building. The sanctuary was a Roman design with a shell shaped ceiling. They took the main altar and the two side altars made out of oak, out of the old church and put them in the new church. The new pews for the church were all finished in dark oak.

Father McDevitt celebrated the first Mass in the new church in 1926, on Christmas Day. The church was dedicated in 1928, by the Most Rev. Francis Johannes, while he was there to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation.

On May 1, 1937, Father McDevitt died of pneumonia which developed during an operation he was having. During his 21 years of service at St. Joseph "he had turned the Parish of wood into one of stone, four substantial buildings--a church, school, rectory and convent."[8]

Rev. Michael Price, who had been serving as assistant to Fr. McDevitt, became the new pastor. He was then replaced on June 18, 1938, by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Clarence A. Bradley. While he was there, Monsignor Bradley saw the need for improvements and additions to the school and the convent. With the help of the parish everything was able to be completed.

On October 1, 1950, Msgr. Bradley signed the contracts for the building of the new high school. Msgr. Bradley's health took a turn for the worse. On December 11, 1951, Rev. Leo T. Lutz was appointed administrator, and took charge of St. Joseph parish, and completed the new high school. The building when finished, was dedicated on January 29, 1952, by the Archbishop, costing the parish over $295,000.

Father Lutz faced a debt of $229,000. He began a campaign to reduce the debt. During the first week of May, 1952, about $204,000 was pledged, with the payments extended over a three year period. By the end of these three years the debt was paid off in full.

In September of 1952, due to an increase of the members of the parish, two more Sunday Masses were added weekly, making it six. The parish kept growing, and in May of 1956 another Sunday Mass was added. In September they added another, then having eight. Two of them were said in the high school gym.

Fr. Lutz "was genuinely interested in the youth of his parish and nothing, in his opinion, was too good for the schools."[9] In 1955, he started a campaign to raise funds for a new grade school. The final tabulation was almost $298,000.

Excavation of the new grade school began on April 11, 1957. The work continued until it was finished, and the building was dedicated on November 23, 1958. That fall about 850 children attended the new school.

By 1961, the parish was out of debt and had money in the bank. In August they began working on sketches for a new convent. On October 11, 1962, construction began, and on September 29, 1963, the nuns moved into their home.

The next project Fr. Lutz wanted to undertake was the building of a new parish church to replace the aging stone building. He never got to accomplish this task; on August 25, 1966, he turned the task of the parish over to Rev. William Dolan. He had been suffering from the strain and stress of his 15 years of toil.

On October, 1967, the Archbishop approved the architectural plans for the new church. It was planned to seat 900 people. The church was to be built in a round shape, with the altar in the middle. This way, no member of the congregation is more than 40 feet away from the altar. "An electronically-operated carillon system has been installed, and is programmed to ring Mass calls and the Angelus."[10] The new church was completed in 1970, and the old church and the old convent were razed, to make room for more parking space.

The building of the new church and the destruction of the old church brought mixed emotions to a lot of people. I myself, can remember playing on the play ground during recess in first grade, and watching the wrecking crews knocking down the old church. Many people got off work that day to come see it. A big part of the church's history was being destroyed. A lot of these people's ancestors had helped build that church with their own hands. Hundreds of people had been married there and brought their children there to be baptized. Now it was being destroyed and they had nothing left to bring back their memories of those days. The destruction of the old church brought tears to more than just one that day.

The church has changed incredibly since 1868, when it started out with an average weekly collection of only 45¢ under Fr. Duesterman. Now with Monsignor William T. Curtain as the pastor, the church is collecting an average of "$12,650 a week."[11] The number of members of the parish has grown from about 30 people during its first years, to over 5,000 members now in 1983. St. Joseph has a lot of history behind it in its 115 years of existence, and looks forward to the future and making more history.

FOOTNOTES

1. Mrs. Henry J. LeCluyse, History of St. Joseph Church 1868-1968 (1968), p. 4.

2. LeCluyse, p.8.

3. E. F. Heisler and D. M. Smith, Atlas Map of Johnson County (Wyandott, Kansas: E. F. Heisler and Co., 1874), p. 86.

4. LeCluyse, p. 12.

5. LeCluyse, p. 12.

6. LeCluyse, p. 15.

7. Joe Fanning, 6232 Greenwood, Shawnee, Kansas, November 12, 1983.

8. St. Joseph Catholic Church Directory 1979 (Illinois: Le Mann and Associates, 1979), p. 2.

9. LeCluyse p. 42.

10. St. Joseph Church (Kansas City, Missouri: Winthrop-Scott and Co., Inc., 1970), p. 2.

11. Saint Joseph Bulletin (St. Louis, Mo., Liturgical Publications of St. Louis, Inc.), November 27, 1983.

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PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY

"One of the most influential groups in America"

by Mary Hoffman

The organization of the Patrons of Husbandry was initiated by many adverse conditions throughout the country. Following the Civil War farmers did not believe they were advancing as fast as others and therefore, set out to make some changes. Many farmers were burdened with debt and despair, often blaming bankers, the railroads, legislation and various monopolies for their problems.

Grievances were strong against the railroads. Many farmers felt they were victimized by the high rates charged to transport crops and livestock. Management and services of the railroad were uncontrolled and discrimination was a common practice.

Farmers also felt their interests were not represented in the government. In the 43rd Congress of the United States only 7% of the members were farmers. In the 1870 census it showed 47% of the working population were engaged in farming.[1]

As a general rule farmers were not educated in market conditions and the law of supply and demand. They were not equipped to store their harvested crops and therefore they had to sell their crops in glutted markets. The despair was much to bear for their hard work and little return.[1]

NATIONAL GRANGE ORGANIZATION

From 1861 to 1865 the people of this country were involved in the Civil War conflict, which was primarily a split between the North and South on the slavery issue. Because of the devastation caused by the Civil War reconstruction soon followed.

As a result of these various reconstruction efforts a clerk from the department of agriculture in Washington, D.C., was sent on a mission to the South to gather statistics on the rural conditions. The clerk's name was Oliver H. Kelley. Kelley found devastation and he soon came up with the idea of developing an organization for the protection and advancement of agricultural interests. Therefore, with the help of six other men, the Patrons of Husbandry was officially organized in Washington, D.C., on December 4, 1867. "Patrons of Husbandry" refers to the organization and "Grange" refers to the meeting place of the organization.[1]

Oliver H. Kelley, the "Founding Father," was chosen to be in charge of propaganda, "to go out into the world and preach the Grange gospel." William Saunders was instrumental in the plan of organization which established national, state, county, and subordinate (township) bodies. John R. Thompson was in charge of the rituals of the Grange. William M. Ireland developed the Grange's constitution and bylaws. Aaron B. Grosh provided all the prayers and songs for the Grange meetings. He felt religion should be part of this organization. John Trimble acted as the critic and adviser. Francis M. McDowell, who was the last to join the other six men, found them all contributing their own money to this cause and quickly took charge of the financial affairs. He was able to make some good investments which kept the organization financially sound through the depression years enabling them to stay out of debt.[1]

The founders together "dreamed of a helpful, protective, energetic organization with lofty ideals of fraternity and brotherhood, along with down-to-earth services to neighbors, community, state, and nation."[1]

The development of the Patrons of Husbandry was actually the development of a family institution. The Grange was one of the very few places where entire families could gather for social events, education, and the chance to meet other families on a common level of understanding. The young and old, men and women, and boys and girls were all part of this organization.

The Grange holds the distinction of being the first organization in the country to recognize women's rights. The Founders gave women full equality and the right to vote in Grange affairs.[1]

Children were also approved by the Founders as qualified members. Boys 14 to 16 years of age and girls 12 to 14 years of age are qualified to be admitted. Even in 1877 the National Grange session issued a report recommending the establishment of a Junior Grange for youth under 16 years of age. "In these we can teach them by illustrative lessons, interspersed with music and singing, to love the farm. Give them amusement and recreation."[1]

Even though the Patrons of Husbandry was not organized originally for political reasons, it did become influential in the nation's capital. The national headquarters of the Grange has always been in Washington, D.C., and the National Master was able to devote a great deal of attention to legislative matters. In 1878, a National Grange Legislative Committee was appointed to represent the rural interests of the country.

Over the years there were many outstanding accomplishments of the Grange:[1]

> since 1867 it has been a "mainstay" for rural roads . . . a dominant force in legislation providing for Interstate Highway Programs now under way.
>
> fostered creation of the Extension Service . . . and has consistently supported appropriations necessary to meet expanded needs of the Service.
>
> fathered legislation creating the Vo-Ag program--and consistently supported advancement of the work since it was established in 1916.
>
> initiated legislation which removed the federal tax on fuel for "on the farm" use . . . saving farmers some $100 million annually.
>
> won its fight to preserve trip leasing privileges in agricultural trucking, saving rural people $200 million a year.
>
> was solely responsible for initiation of Rural Free Delivery and our Parcel Post System.
>
> led the fight that gave Cabinet status to the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

built farmer cooperatives over the years.

is noted for its efforts to curb and control monopolies.

sponsored legislation which created the Rural Electrification Administration and the rural telephone program.

initiated legislation establishing agriculture experiment stations.

was the dominant force in bringing Social Security to farmers and other self-employed persons.

played a paramount role in developing soil conservation services, crop insurance programs, school lunch and milk programs, rural development, food for peace programs, the Farmers Home Administration, and many others.

KANSAS GRANGE INSTITUTIONS

During the late 1860's Kansas was also involved in reconstruction following the Civil War. As a result of the effort to revitalize the agriculture the first Grange in Kansas was organized April, 1872, at Hiawatha.[2] The Grange organizations in Kansas established stores and trading associations, and profoundly influenced the economic and political thought of the state for several years.[3]

Johnson County Co-operative Association

In July 1876 the Johnson County Co-operative Association store was opened in Olathe, Kansas, with capital stock of $900.00. By 1882 the capital stock was worth $40,000 and by 1883 $100,000. The Grange store carried stock from groceries to dry goods, clothing, boots, shoes, hardware, tools, and ag implements. Branch stores were also established in Edgerton, Gardner, Prairie Center, and Stanley. However, these stores proved to be unprofitable and were sold.[4]

One of the original organizers of the Johnson County Co-operative Association was a man named George Black. Black was instrumental in securing the charter for the Johnson County Co-operative Association, which was the first charter of its kind ever granted in the United States. Black was selected as the first Secretary of the organization and served in this capacity for 31 years. He then served as President for 5 years.[4]

In November 1903 a fire destroyed the Grange store in Olathe. It was a three story brick building which represented twenty-eight years of hard work by Grange members. The Grange Opera House was also part of that brick building and on the evening of the fire nearly seven hundred people were attending the opera. The members of the opera cast were able to conduct an orderly evacuation of the building and thus, there were no lives lost and no injuries. The cause of the fire has never been known. By 1904 the store was rebuilt at the same site.[5]

The Patrons Fire and Tornado Association

In 1889 a small group of Johnson County Grangers, guided by State Grange leaders who had conceived the idea as early as 1874, undertook the task of organizing the Patrons Fire and Tornado Association.[6]

The first policies were issued in September 1889, and the charter was legislated on March 22, 1890. The following preamble was adopted:

> Whereas, co-operation for mutual benefit and protection is one of the fundamental principles of the order of Patrons of Husbandry, therefore, we, as Patrons, believing that the present rates of insurance from loss by fire, lightning and tornado are higher than necessities require, do hereby pledge ourselves mutually to share each other's losses in the manner hereinafter provided by the Articles of Association and By-Laws, and for the faithful performance of the conditions following, we do mutually pledge ourselves on our honor as patrons . . . .[6]

The original charter included the following names: I.D. Hibner, Gardner; Samual McPherson, Olathe; R.P. Edgington, Morse; Henry Rhoades, Gardner; W.C. Brown, Cedar Junction; Taylor Markland, Gardner; and Charles Page, Olathe.[6]

The Association's early growth was steady, though slow; but after several years, growth became more rapid as it became apparent that contracts were being fulfilled and as confidence increased in the manager, I.D. Hibner.

Isaac D. Hibner was chosen the first secretary of the Association. He conducted the Association's business from his home on a farm near Gardner for several years before establishing an office in the Grange store building in 1901. He received 25¢ per hour for the time he actually spent on insurance work.[6]

Through the years the Association's membership became more cosmopolitan. Initially, members were friends with a common cause of struggling for existence, whereas eventually members became more interested in their own financial saving than in the Association's welfare. This part of the Association's history was viewed as "one of its darkest trials" by the officers of the Association.[6]

There was also a time when the officers, under the leadership of George Black, felt they had to levy assessments on its members in order to establish a reserve fund. This, however, was most unpopular. As a result, there was an election of a new secretary and several new directors.[6]

Though the assessment was unpopular and bitterly opposed at the time, this action did create financial stability and security of policies for the Association.[6]

From 1914 to 1931 the Association experienced its largest growth and development. The original $50,000 insurance sold to members when the company was organized grew to $1,800,000 by 1914 and on to $50,000,000 by 1931.[6]

The Association became recognized as one of the leading insurance companies in Kansas and gained a national reputation as an outstanding example of a purely Grange business organization.[6]

One of the most important modern developments of the insurance association was "the loss prevention and property inspection program" which was provided to members at no extra charge.[6]

For many years the Association refused to insure town and city property because it was considered "a dangerous class of business," but the urban residential property finally proved to be a desirable class of business.[6]

The initial policies and practices of The Patrons Mutual Insurance Association were primarily aimed at supporting Grange members. It was restricted by its charter to serve only Grange members and it was a "self-managed" company.[6]

Its purpose was to serve the farmer. All of the early directors and officers were raised on or actively engaged in farming. "This fact gives the management an actual knowledge of farm conditions and problems and also an understanding attitude."[6]

Each of the nearly 250 subordinate Granges in Kansas would select a member to serve as an insurance representative, who would be under the direct supervision of the Home Office in Olathe. All policies were issued directly from the Home Office.[6]

After the insurance company moved to the Grange Store Building in 1901 the building was destroyed by fire in 1903. Headquarters were relocated to the new Grange Store erected in 1904, which replaced the one destroyed. In 1912 the Association erected its own Home Office Building. By 1953, after renovations of the original Home Office Building and moving to rental space, the Association directors purchased eight acres of land near Ogg Road, southeast of Olathe. By November 1962 the new Home Office Building was occupied at 1105 South Ridgeview Road.

By 1977, the Association's services were expanded to include non-Grange members as well as to continue to serve the Grange. Now called Patrons Mutual Insurance Association it now serves Kansans by providing many forms of insurance coverage.[6]

The Morning Grange

In Johnson County, Kansas, the Morning Grange, a subordinate of the Patrons of Husbandry, was organized on June 6, 1873. Approximately 40 farmers and their wives met in the old Rock School House which is in the vicinity of Spring Hill and Gardner, Kansas. As the business of organizing the Morning Grange No. 227 progressed late into the night someone made the comment, "If we don't go home pretty soon, it will be morning." Thus, the name, Morning Grange, was adopted.[7]

Charter members voted to meet on the fourth Saturday night of each month at 6 p.m., October 1 through April 1. During the summer months they met at 7 p.m. It became a tradition that oyster soup and pie would be served at installation of officers, to celebrate a wedding anniversary, and special occasions. Violin music was the source of entertainment.[7]

Today the Morning Grange is organized under seven different grange communities from Johnson County. All these Grange communities, including Spring Hill, Lone Elm, Ocheltree, Aubrey, Wea, Cattawa, and Eureka, disbanded since the 1870's and the newly organized Grange subordinate continued to meet at the Rock School until 1907. Thereafter, in 1908 a new Grange hall was built for $1,151.00 across the road from the Rock School. One-half acre was donated by Pat Hamilton for building a new Grange hall. As long as it was used for Grange purposes the building would belong to the Grange. Because of a change in land ownership a one acre tract was purchased by the Grange in 1948.[7]

From 1873 until present day the Morning Grange has been heavily involved in community projects. They have attended the annual "Old Settlers Picnic" in Olathe every September and participated by serving "Grange Pups" (breaded hot-dogs on a stick). They have entered essay contests, play contests, conducted civil defense classes, hobby classes, donated blood, celebrated 50th wedding anniversaries, helped the Jaycees and Jaynes in fund drives, entertained boys' homes, built the roadside park a mile outside of Olathe, conducted beautification projects, and the list goes on. The Morning Grange holds a number of community service awards.[7]

In 1875 the Morning Grange asked for aid from the State Grange and secured seed corn and seed potatoes for Spring planting. The following year the Grange ordered trees, plants, and hedge sprouts from a nursery which were donated to the farmers. This was all part of the reconstruction efforts across the country.[7]

In 1924 the Morning Grange women organized a club for women and named it the "Cheer'em up Club." The Grange ladies were responsible for money making projects which helped build and maintain the Grange hall. They also served meals for various organizations, served meals at farm sales, entered sewing contests, and held bazaars. Much of the money from fund raising projects was also given to charities such as the Cancer Fund, C.A.R.E., etc.[7]

In 1925 the Junior Grange was organized, but became dormant several years later. By 1947 it was re-organized and has remained somewhat active.[7]

Overall, the Morning Grange has reached out to a multitude of people in need. Many hours of time have been donated in an effort to establish and maintain an organization that would be recognized as necessary in the advancement of the farming communities.

CONCLUSION

The Patrons of Husbandry was a typical organization attempting to revitalize the agricultural industry. The effectiveness of its efforts are seen in the

number of legislative accomplishments obtained and in the unity it brought to communities across the country. The Grange is considered "one of the most influential groups in America."[8]

The following quotation, taken from an early day essay contest, best describes the Grange. "The Grange is a great farm fraternity--building character, developing leadership, encouraging education, promoting community betterment, instilling appreciation of high ideals, teaching through work and play the value of cooperation and service in the attainment of happiness."[8]

FOOTNOTES

1. W.L. Robinson, The Grange, 1867-1967, First Century of Service and Evolution, Washington, D.C.: The National Grange, 1966, pp. 1-4, 10-13, 25-27, 32-38.

2. Spring Hill United Methodist Church, Donald D. Powell, Pastor, A History of Spring Hill, Kansas, 1857-1983, no publisher, pp. 65-66.

3. Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XVI, 1923-25, "The Populist Party in Kansas," by W.P. Harrington, pp. 403-409.

4. Ed Blair, History of Johnson County, Lawrence: Standard Publishing Co., 1915, pp. 219-221.

5. The Olathe Register, Vol. VI, Olathe, Kansas, Friday, November 13, 1903, "A Disastrous Fire," page 1.

6. Patrons Mutual Insurance Association History folder (contact Mary Jo O'Brien), Olathe Public Library Kansas Room.

7. Nellie C. Briggs, "History of Morning Grange," 1873-1971, a Gardner-Spring Hill, Kansas, subordinate of the Patrons of Husbandry.

8. Olathe Centennial Arrows to Atoms, 1857-1957, a souvenir program, September 1-7, 1957, pp. 35-37.

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THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS IN MORSE, JOHNSON COUNTY, KANSAS

by Deanna Marquette

In many ways Morse was typical of Kansas during the 1860 to 1910 period. Settlement continued after statehood in 1861, and this was when the first settlers came to Morse. Railroad development was important in the state in the 1870s; in 1872 the St. Louis, Lawrence and Denver Railroad, later known as the Clinton Branch of the St. Louis and San Francisco, was laid through Morse.[1] As was the case in the rest of the state, most of those settling in Morse were farmers. As prosperity rose in Kansas, Morse also prospered. There does appear to be one difference. In the 1890s, many Kansas farmers faced severe economic problems, but the situation in Morse seems to have remained stable. Of the three families I traced, two of them owned their farms outright by 1900. The third had a mortgage on his, but he did not lose his land as many farmers did at that time.[2] The coming of the railroad and increased settlement caused the value of land in Kansas to rise, and this occurred in the area around Morse. With the coming of the railroads, real estate prices in Johnson County rose from $5.00 and $10.00 an acre to $40.00 and $60.00 an acre. An acre sold to the Pleasant Valley Cemetery, located near Morse, cost $15.00 in 1886. In 1895 an acre sold for $65.00, in 1907 for $150.00, and in 1929 three acres were sold to the cemetery for $1,000.[3]

Real estate advertisements from Olathe newspapers also show an increase in land value, but not much information is given about the pieces of property, whether they were cultivated, if they were fenced, or the number of buildings they had. Several of these were listed under Sheriff's Sale Notice, indicating some farmers in the Olathe area did lose their land because of debt. One farm of 100 acres was appraised at $759.48 and one quarter section at $480.[4] The first farm must have had more improvements. A few years later a quarter section for sale was appraised at $1,600, while eighty acres of evidently better land was offered for $2,800.[5]

> In 1879 the following advertisement appeared in <u>The Olathe Gazette</u>:
> For Sale - 40 acres, all under fence, 20 acres with a good hedge fence all around; 20 acres in cultivation and the rest in timber. A good house with four rooms and a cellar 16x28'; 200 bearing apple trees; 2 good wells; as good land as can be found in Johnson County. Only 3 miles from Lenexa, 18 miles from Kansas City and 7 miles from Olathe. Price $9,750.[6]

The town of Morse is located in Oxford Township, six miles southeast of Olathe, on land that had been part of the Black Bob reservation. Most of these Shawnee Indians left the area during the Civil War, and their land--fertile soil, well watered and timbered--was occupied by settlers.[7] John McCaughey was one of the settlers. He came to Morse in 1866 from Ohio and his family settled on eighty acres just south of present-day Morse.[8] A year later his son George, then seventeen years old, bought the eighty acres south of his father's land. J. A. Hunter came to Kansas in 1872. He purchased the quarter section north of John McCaughey, and the town of Morse was actually located on his property. James Murdock purchased land just west of George McCaughey around 1892.

Some maps show that the Santa Fe Trail went south of Morse, but current resident Lloyd Moore believes it went through the town. Morse is located on a ridge and it does seem likely that the trail ran along that high ground.

As mentioned, the railroad was built here in 1872. According to the report of the schools for 1877-78 there was a school, Burr Ridge, for the children then living in that immediate area. A post office was established in 1878; it was discontinued in 1953.[9] The town was not platted until 1884. It was apparently named for a superintendent of the Santa Fe Railroad, though the spelling of his name was Morris.[10] The town was located on land belonging to J. A. Hunter, the western border of which is now Quivira Road, making all of Morse officially on the east side of Quivira. However, homes and businesses were actually located on both sides of that street for two blocks. This seemed to cause no problems except for schooling. Children living on the east side of the street attended Burr Ridge School and then went to Stanley High School. Harmony School was moved to Old Shawnee Town in October 1982.

The three families who first settled Morse appear to have been typical: middle class farmers whose children stayed in the area. Later this trend appears to have changed as population figures indicate a population of 100 in 1910, and sixty-one in 1915.[11] Neither author indicated the source of his information, and several local residents express doubt of these figures.[12] If there had been a population of 100 in 1910, perhaps the population decline was caused by a shortage of sufficient land for the children of each family to stay and farm. There were a limited number of businesses in town--a general store, a blacksmith, a bank, a lumber yard, a grain company, a creamery, and the post office--and there seems to have been no demand for more. Though located on the railroad, Morse did not grow as Olathe did.

John McCaughey came to Kansas from Rix Mills, Ohio, and settled in Morse in 1866.[13] He was a farmer and had five sons and one daughter. He died prior to 1900. The five sons stayed in Oxford Township. Four of them farmed and one, Homer, was a blacksmith. In 1870 McCaughey's eighty acres were valued at $2,000. After his death his son Nathan farmed the land. A son named John owned a farm, and Thomas, another son, rented the land he farmed. His son George bought the eighty acres south of his father in 1867 and lived there until his death in 1927.

George was born in New Concord, Ohio, in 1849 and came to Morse as a boy of seventeen. He was the eldest of the six children of John and Christina McCaughey. In 1873 George married Mary E. Smith, age sixteen, from Missouri, and they had seven children. One son lived in Morse at the time of George's death. None of his descendants live there today.

In 1875 George had thirty acres planted in corn and one in Irish potatoes. Thirty-two acres were meadow and pasture. At that time he had two horses, two milk cows and two pigs. The value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter that year was $37.[14] No poultry or dairy products seem to have been sold that year. He did not indicate the value of his land, but it would be reasonable to estimate it as having been about $2,000, the value of his father's land five years before.

Twenty years later, in 1895, the value of George's land was $5,000, and the value of his implements and machinery was $2,000. He then noted his occupation as carpenter, possibly because he had sons aged nineteen, fifteen, and five at home to do much of the farming.[15] According to his obituary, he had been a

contractor and builder east of Olathe (Morse area) for about forty years. "There was hardly a farm for miles around on which there was not one or more buildings which he constructed. He also built nearly every school house in that part of the county." George McCaughey reduced his farming operation and had no acreage in wheat that year, only five acres of corn, fourteen of oats and one-fourth acre of potatoes. They had a few chickens and $1,000 worth of poultry and eggs had been sold during the year. He then owned four horses, one mule, eight milk cows, four head of cattle and one pig. The value of livestock slaughtered or sold for slaughter that year was only $30. He had planted some fruit trees: a few of the apple trees were bearing as were twenty plum trees.

In 1905 George listed his occupation as merchant, and according to his obituary, he engaged in mercantile business in Morse for a few years and was the town's postmaster at the same time.[16] His improved land was then valued at $4,500, the buildings alone at $1,500, and his machinery at $75. He may have sold many of his implements because he spent less effort in farming. No acreage was planted in wheat, corn or oats that year. He had cut thirty tons of hay, probably used to feed animals. He had three horses, four milk cows, eight head of cattle and sixteen pigs. He sold twenty-five dollars worth of poultry and eggs, and $100 worth of milk and cream to the local creamery.

George McCaughey was active in various organizations in and around Morse. He was one of the organizers of the Johnson County Co-operative Association, secretary of the Stanley Grange, clerk of the school district, trustee of Oxford Township for three terms, and a prime mover in establishing the Pleasant Valley cemetery in 1881. He cared for the cemetery for over forty years and was buried there. "He was honored and respected by all who knew him."

J. A. Hunter was born in South Carolina and came to Morse in 1872. He farmed 160 acres. The value of his land in 1875 was $3,000 and his machinery was worth $120. That year he had thirty acres of corn, eighteen of oats and one-and-one-half of Irish potatoes. Four acres were prairie grass meadow and six acres were orchard. He owned six horses, two milk cows, one other cow, twenty pigs and had two stands of bees. Animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter were valued at $70. He opened a store in Morse in January 1880 but died within a few months. The 1880 federal census shows that his widow, Sarah, lived at the home with five of their seven children. The three boys farmed the land. Two married sons were merchants in Oxford Township.

The 1902 atlas shows a W. R. S. Hunter as owning these same 160 acres; perhaps he was a son of J. A. Hunter.[17] Mrs Irwin believes he was. The 1895 census lists W. R. S. Hunter as a farmer, having 142 acres. The eighteen acre difference could be attributed to the location of Morse on that quarter section. The value of the land in 1895 was $5,000, his machinery $2,000.

That W. R. S. Hunter was more dependent on farming for income than J. A. Hunter is shown by the greater proportion of his land planted in crops and in the larger number of swine and cattle which he owned. Twenty acres were planted in winter wheat that year, forty in corn, twelve in oats, and one-fourth in potatoes. Fewer acres were in clover and grasses. He had sold $5,000 worth of poultry and eggs that year, so he kept considerably more chickens than George McCaughey. He had five horses, six milk cows, seven head of cattle, and

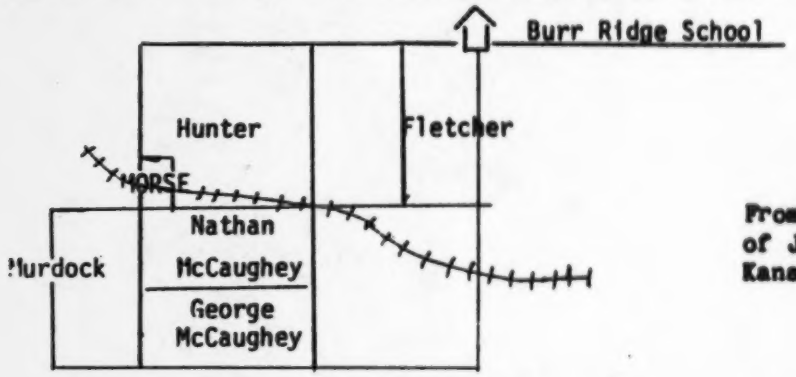
twenty-three pigs. He had slaughtered or sold for slaughter animals valued at $300. He too, had started an orchard: seven apple trees bearing, fifty-four not bearing; two peach trees bearing, sixteen not; twelve cherry trees bearing; eighteen plum trees not bearing.

By 1905 the value of Hunter's improved land had risen to $8,000, with the buildings worth $750. This puts his acreage on a par with McCaughey's (see chart below). I don't know why it was worth less per acre than that of the other two families in 1895. However, McCaughey's and Murdock's land went down in value between 1895 and 1905, a period when land prices were beginning to go up. The value of all three land holdings rose greatly in the five years between 1905-1910, with the value per acre about even. Hunter's land increased 150 percent in value between 1895-1910, much more than the percentage of increase in the other two farms. Perhaps this was because of his concentrated efforts at farming. The percentage of increase in the value of farm property for the nation between 1900-1910 was 100.5 and for Kansas, an increase of 136 percent.[19] The percentage of increase in value for McCaughey and Murdock was less than twenty-five percent. Both of these men seemed to have had less interest in farming and pursued other occupations.

year	name	acres	value	per acre
1895				
	McCaughey	80	$ 5,000.00	$62.50
	Murdock	80	5,000.00	62.50
	Hunter	160	5,000.00	31.25
1905				
	McCaughey	80	4,500.00	56.25
	Murdock	80	4,000.00	50.00
	Hunter	142	8,000.00	56.34
1910[18]				
	McCaughey	80	7,050.00	88.10
	Murdock	80	7,440.00	93.00
	Hunter	142	12,515.00	88.13

Hunter's crops remained about the same for 1905 as in 1895. He had twenty-four acres of wheat, thirty-six of corn and twelve of oats. Only $50 worth of poultry and eggs were sold, so his number of chickens must have decreased dramatically. The value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter remained about the same, $325. Throughout the county the number of swine raised between 1900-1910 decreased by almost 9,000, but raising them for slaughter was profitable as their value increased by $76,000 over the same period.[20] The Olathe Mirror reported in January 1906 that "Packers appear to need all the hogs they can secure at the strong prices now prevailing."[21] During this same period Secretary Wilson of the Department of Agriculture said, "The hen is one of the most valuable assets of the nation's agricultural resources," yet all three families reduced their chicken flocks between 1895 and 1905.[22] A possible explanation might be the presence of diseases affecting pigs in the area. In 1905 Hunter had seven horses, ten milk cows, and eleven head of cattle. His farm was mortgaged, as it still was in 1910.[23] He had five children: girls ages fifteen, thirteen, and eleven and two boys, ages nine and six. He still owned the 142 acres in 1922.

James Murdock provides some contrasts to the other two men regarding when he came to Morse, the size of his family, and his interests. He didn't move to Morse until about 1892, considerably later than McCaughey and Hunter. He was born in Illinois in 1864 and came to Johnson County in 1868 with his parents and older brother and sister. His father, Daniel, and his mother had both been born in Scotland. Daniel, a farmer, purchased 240 acres from Indians at the northeast corner of highways 150 and old 69. He paid about $5 an acre, considerably more than the average price of $2-$3. It was good land and a good location. James was raised there. After marrying Dora Fletcher, who grew up northeast of Morse, he purchased eighty acres to the west of George McCaughey.



From Standard Atlas of Johnson County, Kansas, p. 34.

Before marrying, Dora attended Baker College and taught in a country school for a year. James attended Paola Business College, and several years after the State Bank of Morse was organized in 1910, he became the cashier. He held that position for seven years, during which time he was responsible for the day-to-day operation of the bank. He was also one of its directors until the bank closed in 1931. They had one daughter, Hilda, who still lives in Morse.

In 1895 Murdock's land was valued at $5,000 and his machinery at $2,000. He planted sixteen acres of winter wheat, forty of corn, and one-fourth of potatoes. His wife liked caring for chickens and must have had a large flock as they sold $5,000 worth of poultry and eggs that year. He owned two horses, two milk cows, five head of cattle, and twenty-eight swine. He sold $3,000 worth of animals for slaughter. He owned his farm, mortgage free, by 1910.

In 1905 the Murdock land was valued at only $4,000 and the machinery at $75. The latter shows a large drop from 1895. Thirty-five acres were planted in corn and twenty in oats. He had only two swine, five horses, two milk cows, and one other cow. He again had sold for slaughter animals valued at $300. He had made 100 pounds of butter but had sold only $100 worth of poultry and eggs.

Murdock experienced great loss in the stock market crash in 1929. He was deeply affected by the closing of the banks in 1933 by President Roosevelt and died a few days later.

I think these three men give us a picture of the first fifty years in Morse, and Morse presents a small town typical of Kansas at the time. Though it

didn't grow in size, even with the railroad going through town, neither did it become a ghost town when the railroad discontinued in 1934. Only a couple of businesses are located there now, but new homes are being built as families look for areas away from the city.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ed Blair, History of Johnson County, Lawrence: Standard Publishing Co., 1915, page 212.
2. Federal Census of 1900.
3. Johnson County Kansas Cemetery Index, Johnson County Genealogical Society and Library, Inc., 1983, page 535.
4. The Olathe Mirror, Olathe: December 13, 1866, no page number given.
5. The Olathe Mirror, Olathe: September 20, 1869, no page number given.
6. The Olathe Gazette, Olathe: August 21, 1879, no page number given.
7. A. T. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1883, page 644. Reprinted 1976.
8. Ed Blair, History of Johnson County, page 178.
9. Robert W. Baughman, Kansas Post Offices, Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1961, page 139.
10. A. T. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, page 644.
11. Frank W. Black, Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, Lawrence: Standard Publishing Co., 1912, Vol. II page 322. Blair, page 178.
12. Interviews by author with Hilda Murdock Irwin on October 17, 1983, and with Lloyd and Vera Moore on October 28, 1983.
13. Obituary of George McCaughey. Obituaries compiled by Olathe resident and found in Olathe Library.
14. State Census of 1875.
15. State Census of 1895.
16. State Census of 1905.
17. Standard Atlas of Johnson County Kansas, Chicago: Geo. A. Ogle and Co., 1902, page 34.
18. Rand McNally and Co.'s Commercial Atlas of American Landowner's Director of Douglas, Jefferson, Johnson, Leavenworth, Shawnee and Wyandotte Counties as compiled from the county assessor's records, 1910.
19. Compiled from Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910.
20. Biennial Reports of the State Board of Agriculture for Kansas, Vol. 16, page 754, Vol. 22, page 875.
21. The Olathe Mirror, Olathe: January 18, 1906.
22. The Olathe Mirror, Olathe: December 3, 1908, page 4.
23. Federal Census of 1910.

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Interviews by author with Hilda Murdock Irwin, October 17, 1983, and with Lloyd and Vera Moore, October 28, 1983.

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Olathe Gazette, Olathe: August 21, 1879.

Olathe Mirror, Olathe: December 13, 1866; September 20, 1869; January 18, 1906; December 3, 1908.

Rand McNally and Co.'s Commercial Atlas of American Landowner's Directory of Douglas, Jefferson, Johnson, Leavenworth, Shawnee and Wyandotte Counties as compiled from the county assessor's records, 1910.

Standard Atlas of Johnson County Kansas, Chicago: Geo. A. Ogle & Co., 1902.

State Census of 1875.

State Census of 1895.

State Census of 1905.

SOCIAL LIFE IN MORSE

by Deanna Marquette

The following description of social life in Morse is based on the recollections of three Morse residents as related by them to the author and on early newspaper accounts. The newspaper articles will be noted in the text. An interview with Hilda Murdock Irwin was held October 17, 1983. Lloyd and Vera Moore were interviewed October 28, 1983.

Present day transportation, communication, and entertainment give each individual many choices regarding social life and interaction with others. Without these opportunities, social life at the beginning of the century was very different, particularly in a tiny agricultural community. Without radios, television, movies, theatre or sporting events, people created their own recreation and social functions. Parties and dinners might celebrate the end of threshing or the end of the school year. Organizations formed for various purposes usually had numerous purely social events during the year. The school and churches provided times to get together for reasons other than their primary function.

This was the situation in Morse from 1900 to about 1915. The Clinton branch of the railroad was still operating and was used frequently for shopping trips to Kansas City and for getting to and from high school in Olathe. But the community itself provided many ways for friends and neighbors to see each other socially.

The church is always an important institution in any town. The Methodist Church in Morse was one of the first structures built, possibly even before the town was platted. Everyone attended there because it was handy, not because they belonged to that denomination. Besides regular services and holiday programs, ice cream socials, carnivals, and community meetings were held at the church. Often just an evening of entertainment was scheduled, such as a book review or a program given by some of the young people.[1] The women in town enjoyed sewing all day at the ladies' aid meeting. Now few local people attend the Morse church. As children made friends in nearby towns in secondary schools, they began going to churches where their new friends attended and their parents joined them. The congregation is now primarily older people who have moved from Morse but who come back "home" on Sunday.

School is another important local institution, and the last day of the school year was special for children and parents alike. The teacher and students prepared a program, with each student taking part by recitation or music. The students went to school that morning at their usual time; then at noon the rest of each family arrived. A large table would be set up, perhaps making one by placing a long board across some of the desks. The women would then unload the food they had brought, and everyone ate, the children enjoying the large selection and eating as though they were deprived at home. Then the program would be given for the parents. Thus the school year ended with a bang. The school was also used for gatherings at other times, such as box suppers.[2]

Even the Women's Christian Temperance Union provided a form of social life. They had a small hall in Morse for a number of years where temperance meetings were held, such as one reported in The Olathe Mirror. "Olathe ladies met with

the Morse WCTU last Friday to assist in reviving interest in the temperance cause." Threatening rain and farming interests kept some away but a "faithful few attended." After a meal of home cooked food, the meeting was opened by a male quartet singing "Rescue the Perishing." There was a Scripture lesson and prayer, followed by a paper given by the county president, "What Is the WCTU and What Are They Doing?" It was noted that the WCTU had been "instrumental in securing the passage of 59 righteous laws and in many unrighteous laws having been stricken from the statute book through their persistent effort." A recitation by a young man was given, followed by a talk on the need to teach temperance principles in the home to children by young mothers. Talks were then given by two ministers. "Results of this meeting: four new members for Morse and six for Olathe."[3] And we learn the size of the local organization in 1908 from this newspaper notice: "The Morse WCTU has . . . fifteen active members."[4] Everyone in the community was invited to a chicken and pie supper given by the WCTU in the fall of 1909.[5] The women also gathered together to work for good causes, as this notice indicated: "The WCTU will meet with Mrs. Fred Harvey for an all day meeting to sew for some institution in Kansas City."[6] The WCTU hall in Morse was gone by 1920.

Another national organization that had a local group in Morse was the Central Protection Association, or the Horse League. This resembled our current neighbor watch program, in that members kept watch for suspicious people or activities in the area. It was begun to apprehend thieves who stole animals and equipment, a farmer's livelihood. The report of one such burglary appeared in The Olathe Mirror. "Last Tuesday night L. D. Thompson had the misfortune to have two sets of double harness, one set of single harness, besides a spring wagon, stolen from his barn, one-and-one-third mile southeast of Morse. Also the same night a good team was stolen from Jim McNeal. No trace has been found of the stolen property."[7] The League also had social gatherings, such as an oyster dinner each January 1. The oyster soup was cooked by putting it in three gallon milk coolers which were placed in wash tubs filled with hot water. It was then cooked on a wood stove and served with celery, pickles, lots of crackers, and pie.

The Modern Woodmen of America was a national fraternal benefit life insurance society founded in 1883. Members were voted in, and the Morse chapter held their secret meetings in the town hall above the store. Lloyd Moore remembers his initiation when he joined in 1924 or 1925--he had to ride a goat. The women also had an order, Royal Neighbors of America, founded in 1895. It was also a life insurance society. These groups also contributed to the social life of the town by having oyster suppers, card playing sessions, and quilting parties for the women. Reports of two events appeared in an Olathe newspaper in 1908. "The Woodmen supper Friday night was a great treat. The ladies entertained in grand style."[8] "The Royal Neighbors of Morse, Kansas, will give an entertainment and box supper at the WCTU hall Saturday evening, February 8. Admission 10¢ to all who do not bring or buy a box. Children free."[9]

There were also wholly local groups which got together according to special interests. One was a gun club, which had dinners as well as their regular meetings. "The Morse gun club had their oyster supper Saturday night." Oysters apparently were well liked, but the Moore's don't know where they were purchased.

The Thimble Club started in 1910 and still meets monthly in Morse. It began with ten women who thought it would be enjoyable to get together on a regular basis to visit and do their fancy work. They decided to ask two more ladies to join, then each could hold the meeting once a year. Soon they expanded to twenty-four members, with each entertaining the group once every other year. Members were voted in and, in general, the number was maintained by voting in daughters and daughters-in-law. The group now has difficulty maintaining twenty-four members because they keep losing some and younger women are not interested. And when they meet, it is to eat and visit, with few bringing needle work.

In earlier days, however, it was one of the better things one went to, and members rarely missed a meeting. The women wore their best dresses and were on their best behavior. Besides taking their needle work, the ladies often took extra chairs, dishes, or silverware to help the hostess as there were at least thirty attending, some of the ladies bringing their young children. There were no babysitters in those days, but grandmothers were usually there to help. The children, too, displayed good behavior at this important time. It was a large group for the small houses of perhaps four rooms. The hostess made special preparations. At least one member painted and papered the entire interior of her home before each meeting there. Her daughter-in-law recalls that she always served one of her specialties, angel food cake or raisin cream pie. She says the angel food cake was the best she ever tasted and she was so pleased when her mother-in-law said she would teach her how to make it. She was to beat the egg whites with her whisk, not her rotary beater. But the secret was in the baking. Six corn cobs were placed in the bottom of the wood-burning stove. Coal oil was poured over them and they were lit. The cake was then immediately placed in the cold oven. Every few minutes two or three more cobs were added. For the first half hour the cake didn't brown but it rose high. For the last half hour of baking, twice as many cobs were put in periodically, and the cake browned. The daughter-in-law no longer makes angel food cake this way, but she still uses her mother-in-law's raisin pie recipe when asked to take dessert to various functions.

Now the citizens of Morse have television to entertain them at home. And, with cars, they can quickly drive to Olathe, Stanley or Kansas City for a movie, football game, meeting, church service, or party. But before these activities were available, they enjoyed many social occasions in their own small town.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Olathe Mirror, Olathe: October 7, 1909, page 4.
2. The Olathe Mirror, Olathe: December 2, 1909, page 8.
3. The Olathe Mirror, Olathe: September 20, 1906, page 7.
4. The Olathe Mirror, Olathe: March 19, 1908, page 4.
5. The Olathe Mirror, Olathe: November 18, 1909, page 3.
6. The Olathe Mirror. Olathe: January 20, 1910, no page number shown.
7. The Olathe Mirror, Olathe: September 28, 1909, page 12.
8. The Olathe Register, Olathe: January 9, 1908, page 4.
9. The Olathe Register, Olathe: February 6, 1908, page 2.

GERMAN ALIEN ENEMIES DURING WORLD WAR I

IN JOHNSON, DOUGLAS, MIAMI, AND WYANDOTTE COUNTIES

Deanna Marquette

At the beginning of World War I in August 1914, the population of the United States was 98,646,491. Nearly one-third of the number was foreign born, and of this third, 15,000,000 were European-born immigrants, including 3,000,000 adults unable to speak English and 9,000,000 who read foreign language newspapers exclusively.[1] German-born immigrants numbered 2,500,000 in the 1910 federal census,[2] 2½ percent of the population of the United States that year;[3] 8,282,618 listed Germany as their country of origin. Over 2½ million of them were born in Germany, while 4 million were born in the United States of parents born in Germany. The rest had one parent born here and one born in Germany.[4]

The term German-American is used to designate those German-born immigrants to the United States. By the fall of 1915 such hyphenated Americans were suspect and considered to have divided political loyalties. When the United States entered the war on April 6, 1917, all German-born immigrants who were not naturalized citizens were designated as alien enemies and placed under various regulations. A cartoon from Life magazine, June 13, 1918, indicated the suspicions and distrust of native Americans for alien enemies. It depicted a "typical" German--rotund, balding, with mustache, and raising a stein--singing the German-American version of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."

My country over sea,
Deutschland, is sweet to me;
  To thee I cling.
For thee my honor died
For thee I spied and lied,
So that from every side
  Kulture might ring.[5]

Prior to the war, Americans were actively working for world peace. In the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, sixty-three peace societies were organized in the United States.[6] However, the population was far from cohesive, and "melting pot" was not an accurate description of American society. It remained a nation of many distinctive ethnic, religious, and radical groups.[7] Immigrant groups tended to form separate enclaves within the substructure of America;[8] thus assimilation was slow.

In 1917 there were 522 German language newpapers and journals published in the United States*, many of them weeklies. In the year preceding the war these

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*This number was a considerable decrease from the nearly 800 publications just before the turn of the century but still nearly as great as that of all other foreign language publications in America combined.[9] Many of the publications found it too dangerous and expensive to continue after passage of the Espionage Act in June 1917 which imposed a twenty year prison term and/or a fine of up to $10,000 for anyone found guilty of aiding the enemy, obstructing recruiting or causing insubordination, disloyalty, or refusal of duties in the armed services. It gave the Postmaster General the power to deny mailing privileges to any newspaper or magazine alleged to be treasonable or seditious.[10] In October an act of Congress stated that no printed matter respecting the war could be published in any foreign language paper unless a true translation was first submitted to the local postmaster.[11]

publications promoted Germany's "superior culture," believing it was beneficial for German-Americans to maintain their German identity and then to contribute to the future higher civilization of America.[12]

Social contacts were generally limited to the German-American community and the local German Lutheran or Catholic church. The German language was used in the home and in most church services. Many of the churches also conducted full- or part-time parochial schools where German language and culture were taught. There were also numerous secular societies, local and national.

Although a majority of the world's great intellectuals, philosophers, and musicians were of German descent, the ordinary American gained his impression of a German from the immigrant who lived nearby, worked in the same factory, or trimmed his beard. He stereotyped the German as industrious, thrifty, honest, orderly, disciplined, and attached to his family.[13]

Between the declaration of war in Europe through 1916, most Americans were tolerant of the German immigrants. Early in 1915 the first of numerous unexplained explosions and fires occurred that were attributed by some to German sabotage. In July of that year at least fifteen mysterious fires and bombs were reported, beginning with an explosion on the main floor of the Senate wing in the United States capitol.[14] Some Americans attributed all such happenings as German sabotage and said that German agents were honeycombing the country.[15] However, there was no prosecution of spies under either the Espionage Act or the Sabotage Act during World War I.

German-Americans were not uniform in their responses to the activities in Europe. Early in the war a majority of the German language newspapers identified with the German perspective of the war and declared there was a pro-British attitude in the American administration and press, in spite of United States' "neutrality."[16] German-Americans realized the sinking of the Lusitania greatly reduced tolerance toward them, and in New York there was a four-fold increase in the number of applications by German aliens to acquire American citizenship.[17]

The attitude of Americans began to change; one was either a patriot or a traitor; there was no middle ground. "One-hundred-percent-Americans" didn't insist on using the German language or reading German language newspapers. Wisconsin Senator Husting remarked in August 1915 that "the obligation of loyalty that rests upon the shoulders of him who came from Europe is even greater an obligation than that which falls on the native son."[18] If German-Americans remained silent about the war or assented passively, as most did, they were charged with being lukewarm patriots.

By June 1917, hostility toward them began to mushroom. In his Flag Day speech of June 14, President Wilson said, "The military masters of Germany have filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators."[19] By fall a fierce hatred for everything German pervaded the country. German-American employees were often fired, and promotions in business, government, and the military were denied those with German names. Names of towns, streets, and schools were changed. East Germantown, Indiana, became Pershing; Bismarck school in Chicago became General Frederick Funston school. Sauerkraut and

hamburger were renamed: liberty cabbage and liberty steak. Music by German composers was banned; German books were burned; German musicians cancelled. Many states curtailed or abolished the teaching of German in schools, and numerous communities restricted the freedom of citizens to speak German in public.

Inflammatory statements by public officials and in the press kept tensions high. California Representative Julius Kahn said the nation would profit from a "few prompt hangings." The Washington Post editorialized that enemy propaganda must be stopped "even if a few lynchings may occur."[20]

Meanwhile United States propaganda was saturating the country in the form of posters, books, and pamphlets. At the bottom of one poster it stated: "Do your part--Report names of persons circulating such [German] rumors to the National Committee of Patriotic Societies."[21] The Committee of Public Information published numerous pamphlets. One, entitled American Loyalty by Citizens of German Descent, had several contributions by prominent German-Americans. More than 1,000,000 copies were distributed, nearly half in the German language.[22] Marshall Field & Co., Chicago merchant, published a booklet illustrating its many wartime activities.[23] The American Protective League, a nationwide volunteer group of loyal Americans, was formed by a Chicago businessman. Though approved by the Justice Department and under its jurisdiction, the APL was not an official representative of the federal government and had no right to make arrests. Within three months it had almost 100,000 members, and eventually there were branches in every major city of the country.[24] The League was used to investigate suspected disloyalty by German-Americans.

In Kansas, Germans have consistently been the most numerous of the foreign-born population, though the proportion of foreign-born of the state's population has never been large. The number of German-born in the state in 1890 was 46,423; in 1910, 34,041; in 1920, 23,280.[25] From 1900-1920, the German-born population of the state was approximately twice as large as that of any other foreign nation.[26]

A large number of German Mennonites settled in the central portion of the state after buying 100,000 acres north of Newton from the Santa Fe Railroad. Many of them believed their church couldn't survive without the German language. Some considered it sacrilege to worship God in English, which was the language of the sinful world. By the end of 1876 numerous Catholic Volga Germans had settled in western Kansas, buying land from the Kansas Pacific Railroad in Ellis and Rush counties.[27] In eastern Kansas the greatest concentration of German-Americans was in Wyandotte county.[28]

In an address before the Kansas State Historical Society in October 1918, the society's president, George P. Morehouse, stated that Kansas had always been a state of extremes. He cited prehistoric extremes--once much of the state was covered by sea but now it is very dry--agricultural, political, and economic extremes. He stated that Kansans were extremely militant during the Spanish-American War but that red-blooded American patriotism reached its lowest ebb on January 30, 1916, in Topeka when Kansans displayed extreme pacifism at the state meeting of the Kansas Peace and Equity League.[29] After the United States entered the war, Kansans once again changed positions. Mr. Morehouse related a

meeting in the fall of 1918, on the eve of the Fourth Liberty Loan Drive. "For over an hour Trooper O'Connors, in graphic language described in detail the skillful methods used in sticking the cold steel bayonet into the sides and through the adipose tissue of the arrogant Hun, expertly twisting the point to cut the hole larger in order to pull the blade out and be ready to brain or stick another. The mixed audience of men, women and children went wild with fervor, and entering into the spirit of his bloody talk, cheered him to the echo."[30] Others agree that Kansans opposed the war until entry by the United States; then there was an abrupt change.[31]

In the first four Liberty Bond loans, Kansas was asked for $136,644,550.00 and actually subscribed $166,548,950.00. The fifth and final drive came at a time of bad rural crop conditions, but most communities still met their goals.[32] Reno County went over its quota for all five loans by more than two million dollars. Drives for Red Cross, YMCA, and other relief and welfare funds also all went "over the top" with contributions of $369,495.00.[33] Quotas for individuals were established in many communities, and pressure was brought against those who didn't feel a patriotic impulse to give. "Their money had to be drafted." Stern measures were taken, such as setting up a bulletin board at the corner of First and Main, the most prominent corner of the Hutchinson business district, which bore, painted in yellow letters, the names of those who refused to do their share.[34] During the third drive across the state line in Kansas City, Missouri, the Liberty Loan headquarters issued an announcement that all workers in the campaign should immediately notify headquarters of all cases of disloyalty or pro-Germanism or anyone failing to do his part.[35]

People suspected of disloyalty were investigated unoffically by the American Protective League, headed in Kansas by Fred Voiland, who had also been appointed director of the State Council of Defense by Governor Capper, and by Frank Blackmar, also a member of the council and a University of Kansas professor.[36] Official investigations were carried out by the investigative branch of the Justice Department. Newspapers and public officials encouraged citizens to report suspicious words or actions to the US Attorney for the District of Kansas, Fred Robertson. He or one of his assistants would then write a letter of inquiry and/or warning to the suspect, or Robertson would initiate an investigation.

In a letter to J.F. Cookson of Dwight, Kansas, dated May 15, 1918, an assistant US attorney wrote,

> You might have made some indiscreet remarks and I advise you to be careful in the future. It is easy at this time for remarks to be misconstrued . . . I suppose you have contributed to the Red Cross and other war causes, as all good loyal citizens have at this time, to the extent of your financial ability . . . we, of course, never divulge the source of our information . . . we depend largely upon our loyal citizens to keep us informed as to the loyalty of their communities.[37]

On that same date Mr. Robertson wrote to the Attorney General in Washington, D.C., regarding John Sattler, a wealthy Reading, Kansas, banker and landowner. Robertson said that Sattler should be interned as he was "thoroughly pro-German

and anti-American and although he is very wealthy, he has purchased a negligible amount of Liberty Loan bonds."[38] Robertson later called Sattler a "tight fisted, greedy, money maker."[39] Sattler was quoted as saying he wouldn't purchase bonds because it "would only make the war last longer . . . we had no business in the war . . . Germany had done nothing to us . . . stories of German atrocities were lies . . . the sinking of ships with American men, women, and children on board was all right as they had no business on the seas--they had been warned by Germany that the Lusitania would be sunk and if they didn't want to be blown up, they should have stayed home." Sattler was arrested on a Presidential warrant as a disloyal alien enemy and interned at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.[40]

In a letter to Arthur Bagley, Special Agent in Charge, Robertson requested that Johanna Pircher be watched. She had recently been fired from her teaching position at Ottawa University for making a pro-German statement in the classroom,[41] and Robertson wrote that she had frequent telephone conversations with certain Germans in Kansas City. He said that information indicated she told the University president that she hoped Germany would win the war and her demeanor showed her willingness to assist as she could.[42]

In August 1918, Robertson wrote to the postmaster in Nashville, Kansas, regarding George and John Adelhart.

> I observe that John Adelhart is worth $25,000.00, has been thirty-six years in the United States, owns only $100.00 worth of Liberty Bonds, apparently has no War Savings Stamps at all, has given only $7.00 to the Red Cross and $2.00 to the Knights of Columbus, and nothing to the YMCA . . . If he is worth $25,000.00, he has not started to do his part as an American. I would say he ought to have at least $1,000.00 worth of Liberty Bonds, in the neighborhood of $500.00 worth of War Savings Stamps, and should have contributed $100.00 to the Red Cross and at least $50.00 to the Knights of Columbus. A man worth $25,000.00, who cannot see that it is his duty to do more than this man has is, in my opinion, hardly to be classed as a true American.[43]

On April 23, 1917, the US Marshal for Kansas was directed to order alien enemies to turn in firearms and to arrest violators. Registration of German aliens began in February 1918. Failure to register was punishable by internment during the war.[44] Occasionally internment was suggested to protect an alien from mob violence.[45] The Night Riders, a secret organization, circulated printed warnings in Barton County neighborhoods suspected of pro-Germanism.[46]

The registration of alien enemies in February 1918 must have been a frightening and bewildering experience for those German-Americans who had been in the United States for many years. Michael Young of Baldwin, who had left Germany sixty-two years before, wondered why registration was necessary. Godfrey Reetz of Linwood, who had a son in the United States Army, was concerned he might be sent back to Germany.[47] John Gottman, who lived in the Kansas City, Kansas, area, committed suicide a week after registering. "I have friends and relatives in the German army. I have friends and relatives in the American army. I love Germany. I love the United States. What shall I do?" Gottman had been

employed at the Wilson packing plant for fifteen years and believed he was being watched. He told his wife he had taken out his second naturalization papers but that they had been lost in the 1903 flood in Topeka.[48]

Although registration was required by federal law, not all German-born aliens complied. Some simply refused out of defiance; others didn't understand the law or were ignorant of it.[49] Occasionally US Attorney Robertson would intercede on behalf of someone who failed to register unintentionally, as in the case of J.H. Klusman of Lenexa who had been in the United States over sixty years.[50] This failure to register by some is evident in the number of affidavits compared to the German-born population.

Census figures for Johnson County are as follows:

federal	born in Germany	state	born in Germany	direct from Germany to Kansas
1890	437	1895	413	174
1900	413	1905	473	219
1910	339	1915	304	109
1920	262[51]			

Only fifty-seven affidavits were filed in Johnson County for German-born aliens, plus six more for women married to German men. Five of these women were born in the United States and one was born in Poland.[52] The census figures include children, but those under the age of fourteen were not required to register as alien enemies. Even by allowing for the naturalization of half of the German-born, for some deaths between the 1915 census and the 1918 registration, and for children under fourteen, the number of affidavits appears low. It is doubtful that all registered.

Census figures for Douglas County are as follows:

federal	born in Germany	state	born in Germany	direct from Germany to Kansas
1890	1,011	1895	597	897
1900	873	1905	743	450
1910	638	1915	530	381
1920	394[53]			

One hundred sixty-six affidavits were filed in Douglas County; this number includes twenty-one females born in the United States. Again, 145 registered as German-born is considerably fewer than the figures in the 1915 and 1920 census reports.

The census figures for Miami County are as follows:

federal	born in Germany	state	born in Germany	direct from Germany to Kansas
1890	544	1895	516	228
1900	518	1905	414	206
1910	404	1915	286	186
1920	255* 54			

Only ninety-eight affidavits were filed, including sixteen females born in the United States married to German-born aliens.

The census figures for Wyandotte County are as follows:

federal	born in Germany	state	born in Germany	direct from Germany to Kansas
1890	2,502	1895	2,524	1,116
1900	2,531	1905	4,167	2,823
1910	2,318	1915	2,032	1,264
1920	1,482[55]			

Only 366 affidavits were filed, including fifty United States-born females and nine born in other countries, other than Germany. Children under fourteen and deaths could not account for the difference.

Local registrars included police chiefs, sheriffs, postmasters, deputy marshals, and local constables. In rural areas a single registrar usually served the local community and surrounding areas.

The affidavits were filed in triplicate. One copy went to the Justice Department in Washington, one to the US Marshal of the district, and one to a local magistrate. Kansas is the only state that still has a copy of these affidavits. Each was accompanied by a photograph supplied by the registrant. The registration for males listed name and other names used at any time; place of residence and length of time living there; other places of residence since January 1, 1914; birth place and date; occupation, place of employment and name of employer since January 1, 1914; date of arrival in the United States, plus name of port and ship, and name used on entry application; names of parents and residence if still living; name and residence of wife, if married; names, sex, and birth date of children between ten and fourteen years of age; number of children under ten years of age; whether registrant had male relatives in arms for or against the United States and its allies during the present war and if so, to give particulars; if registered for selective draft; all previous military, naval, or other government service; whether he had ever applied for

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* Richland Township was included in the Douglas County affidavits, with people living in Clinton and Kanwaka Townships filing with the Richland postmaster. In the census figures, Richland Township was included in Miami County.

naturalization in the United States and if so, when and where; if naturalized in any country other than the United States; if he had ever taken an oath of allegiance to any country other than the United States and if so, when and where; if he had, since January 1, 1914, reported to or registered with a consul or representative of any country other than the United States for military or naval or other service; if so, when, where, for what country, and for what service; if he had ever been arrested or detained, and if so, when, where, and on what charges; if he were on parole; if he had a permit to enter forbidden areas and if so, to state the permit number.* The registrant then signed his name, swearing that all his answers were true. If he was unable to write, he was to make his mark and affix his left thumb print. His picture was attached to the affidavit, and finger prints and hand prints of both hands were on the last page. The affidavit was then dated and signed by the registrar who also filled in a description of the registrant. This description included age, height, weight, color of eyes and hair, forehead ("high," "round," "broad"), nose ("rather large," "pointed," "natural," "flat"), mouth ("wide," "ordinary," "medium"), chin ("square," "sharp," "round"), complexion ("fair," "dark"), face ("rather broad," "narrow"), and any distinctive marks ("small scar at corner of left eye," "middle finger of left hand stiff and cannot bend," "lost three fingers," "tattoo on forearm," "teeth about all gone").

The form for females was similar. In addition, more marital information was requested, such as if she was a widow or had been divorced. Names, date of birth, and residence of all children were to be listed, as well as by which marriage. Birthplace and citizenship of both parents were requested, as was information on all brothers and sisters. The questions on draft registration and previous military service were deleted, but questions about her husband's naturalization were added. She was also asked what languages she spoke, read, and wrote. A photograph and finger prints were required. In the description, her age was broken down in years and months.

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* Permits were necessary for aliens who lived within one-half mile of any military camp, arsenal, or property engaged in the manufacture of war materials. Forbidden areas in Kansas City meant practically all the down town district.[56] Permits were needed by those working with food products, such as the meat packing plants.

JOHNSON COUNTY AFFIDAVITS

Township	males	females, includes females born in US	and females born elsewhere	port of arrival	
DeSoto	3	5	1	-	New York 40
Edgerton	0	2	1	-	Baltimore 8
Gardner	3	4	-	1 in Poland	Galveston 3
Lenexa	2	9	1	-	New Orleans 1
Merriam	6	2	-	-	Hoboken 2
Olathe	8	9	2	-	Port Huron, Michigan 1
Overland Park	1	1	-	-	Unknown 2
Shawnee	0	1	1	-	
Spring Hill	1	1	-	-	
Stilwell	2	2	-	-	
Zarah	1	0	-	-	
	27	36			

Males

first papers	registered for draft	permits	arrested	charge	registered with German consul
20	3	4	2	disturbing peace embezzlement, KC, Mo.	2 had been in US 7 and 13 years

German military service	present age	arrival in US	parent(s) in Germany	relatives in arms for allies	
7 1 in US 34 years 1 in US 26 years 1 in US 16 years	youngest 14 oldest 74	earliest in 1856 as an infant	4 in US 7-9 years	son nephew(s)	1 1

relatives in arms against allies		
brother(s)	5	in US 7,7,9,16,34 years
cousin(s)	1	in US 7 years
nephew(s)	1	in US 39 years

Females - Johnson County

present age	arrival in US	widows	single	divorced	non-German married to alien	alien married to registered male
youngest 16	earliest in 1855	14	2	1	4 husband registered	7
oldest 78	at age of 2				1 husband not registered	

alien married to unregistered male	parent(s) in Germany	brother(s) and/or sister(s) in Germany
2	2 in US 4 & 5 years	2 in US 4 & 5 years
	2 in US 27 & 32 years	2 in US 20 & 26 years (latter had brother in Marines)
		5 in US 33, 36, 37, 44 years

relatives in arms for US		relatives in arms against allies	
son	3	brother 2	1 had nephew for allies; parents, brother, and 4 sisters in Germany; in US 27 years
grandson	2		1 in US 4 years (see Zenner male in text)
nephew	3		
brother	1		
cousin	1		

language: German only spoken, written and/or read	English spoken but not written or read
8	5

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occupation other than "wife" or "housewife"	
nurse	1
housekeeper for others	2

Several of the men are of special interest because of the information given. Without knowing more about their actions or character, the writer can understand their possible divided allegiance and how native Americans at that time might wonder about their full-fledged patriotism to the United States.

One man from Gardner, Emil Maas, forty-three years old, had been in the United States almost seven years. His parents were still living in Germany, and he had two cousins bearing arms against the allies. His wife had a father, brother, and two sisters in Germany. Maas had served three years in the German cavalry. He took out first papers of naturalization three months after his arrival in the United States. He had lived in Johnson County four years and was a farmer.

Two Merriam men had parents alive in Germany. August Huber, thirty-six years old, had been in the United States nine years. Gotthilf Bassler, twenty-four years old, had been here seven years. Neither had served in the German military, but Huber had one brother fighting against the allies, and Bassler had one brother and two nephews fighting for Germany. Bassler was registered for the draft and was a dairy worker. Huber had taken out first papers and worked as a gardener.

Paul Eckert, thirty-eight years old, lived in Olathe and had been in the United States almost twelve years. His parents were deceased, but he had two brothers fighting against the allies. His wife had one sister in Germany, one in Moscow, and three sisters and two brothers in the United States. One of her brothers was in the US Marines. Eckert had served in the German army three months. He was a tinsmith working in Kansas City, Missouri, and had taken out first papers in 1909.

Johann Gottlieb Zenner, thirty years old, had a father living in Germany, two brothers fighting against the allies, and had served two years in the German artillery. He also had registered since January 1, 1914, with a German consul for artillery service in Germany. He had been in the United States almost seven years, was registered for the draft and had a wife and four young children in Stilwell. His wife's parents, brother, and sister lived in Germany, her brother bearing arms against the allies. Zenner had been arrested for embezzlement in Kansas City, Missouri. He had worked as a laborer and a milker at a dairy and had a permit to enter a restricted zone.

Information from the 1900 federal census shows tailors, saloon keepers and bartenders, tobacco and cigar factory operators as the occupations with the highest proportions of German-born males for the country as a whole.[57] This did not hold true for Johnson County. The three men from DeSoto did not give their occupations. Of the remaining twenty-four males, ten were farmers. There were three dairy men and three laborers; two gardeners; one bricklayer, tinner, shoemaker, and engineer. One man listed only that he was self-employed and one that he worked in the meat department of a meat packing plant.

None of the letters by US Attorney Robertson or his assistants in 1917-18 were written to or regarding any of the German aliens registered in Johnson County.* There was correspondence to individuals not registered.

A letter to John Pflumm of Merriam said there was a question regarding his loyalty and asked him to go to the attorney's office to clear it up. A later letter indicated that Pflumm did go, but he was asked to return.[59]

Letters to four individuals in Olathe asked that they send the attorney names of people speaking German on the telephone and attending German meetings.[60] Joe Danglemeier of Lenexa was warned that he had been overheard making unpatriotic remarks.[61] A letter to the US Marshal in Topeka was on behalf of J.H. Klusman of Lenexa who had unintentionally failed to register. He wanted to do so, and Robertson pointed out that Klusman had been in the United States for over sixty years.[62] Klusman did register late, in April. To Martin J. Reits of Olathe an assistant US attorney wrote,

> It has been reported . . . that you have recently made remarks . . . indicate you are entirely out of sympathy with this government in its present struggle and also that . . . your boy would never fight against Germany . . . This letter demands an immediate answer, and we desire the following information: when and where were you born, and if foreign born, give information regarding entering the United States; have you been naturalized; give the approximate value of your property, real and personal; are you for us or against us in this war? If you are against us, this country is no place for you to reside.[63]

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*A possible exception is a letter written to C.L. Frisbie regarding a person by the name of Schwarz who lived southeast of DeSoto. No first name was given, but the person was suspected of possible disloyalty, and Frisbie was asked for his help and opinion.[58] A Herman Schwarz did register in DeSoto, giving his residence as Olathe. He had lived there four years, was forty-two years old, married, with four children. The eldest was a boy, fourteen, who also registered. Herman came to the United States in 1907, did not know if his parents were living, knew of no relatives bearing arms against the allies, and had taken out first papers in October 1913. He had served in the German cavalry for three years.

DOUGLAS COUNTY AFFIDAVITS

Township	males	females, includes females born in US	and females born elsewhere	port of arrival	
Baldwin	11	7	2	-	New York 103
Eudora	30	32	11	-	Baltimore 23
Lawrence	45	22	12	-	New Orleans 6
Lecompton	3	3	4	-	Seattle 1
Richland	13	-	-	-	Philadelphia 1
	102	64			Unknown 2

Males

first papers	registered for draft	permits	arrested	charge	registered with German consul
61	7	0	2	"violating prohibatory" "breaking bone dry law"	1 in 1914; was pastor; had been missionary in China 1901-1914

service in German military	service in US military
17	1 private in Ks. military in 1864; arrived in 1852; present age was 79
	1 in US Civil War; arrived in 1854
	1 in US Army for 30 years; arrived in 1887
	1 in US Infantry in Cuba 10 months; arrived in 1887

present age	arrival in US	parent(s) in Germany	relatives in arms for allies	
youngest 21	earliest in 1852	3 in US 4, 7, 13 years	son(s)	8
oldest 86	at age 13	4 in US 20-37 years	brother(s)	4
			nephew(s)	7
			cousin(s)	2

relatives in arms against allies		
brother(s)	4	1 had 2 brothers in German military; mother in Germany; 31 years old; here 7 years; had registered for draft; had been in German army 2 years
		1 had 1 brother in German military; parents in Germany; 23 years old; here 4 years; registered for draft
		1 had 2 brothers in German military; 25 years old; here 8 years; had registered for the draft

relatives in arms
against allies - continued

1 had 2 brothers in German military and 2 nephews fighting for the allies; 43 years old; here 4 years; was a pastor; had spent 1 year in German military, in medical division in a hospital

nephew(s)	8
cousin(s)	3
"some"	1

Females - Douglas County

present age	arrival in US	widows	single	divorced	non-German married to alien	alien married to registered male
youngest 23	earliest in 1860	12	9	1	19 husband registered	11
oldest 90	at age of 21				2 husband not registered	

alien married to unregistered male	parent(s) in Germany	brother(s) and/or sister(s) in Germany
2	3 in US 7, 15½, 28 years	13 in US 7, 8, 15½, 26, 29, 36, 37, 46, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52 years

relatives in arms for US		relatives in arms against allies		
son(s)	8 (1 had 3 sons fighting)	son(s)	2	1 in US 4 years (had 2 sons against allies)
				1 in US 29 years
grandson	1			
brother(s)	3	brother	1	in US 8 years
nephew(s)	11	half-brother	1	in US 7 years
cousin(s)	2	nephew(s)	7	1 had 3 sons fighting for allies
brother-in-law	2	cousin(s)	1	

other relatives in Germany		language: German only		English spoken but not written or read
1 son	in US 7 years	7	includes 2 who	7
3 sons	in US 35 years		could not write	

occupation other than "wife" or "housewife"	some descriptions of Lawrence females by registrar
cashier and KU student	"very large and powerful" (5'8", 190 pounds)
clerk	"very pleasant old lady"
housekeeper for others	"pleasant expression"
milliner	"very small person" (4'3", 65 pounds)
student (age 29)	"very pleasant"
keeping KU students (had been making khaki uniforms for US Army until that month)	
one, in the past, had government service with the US Indian Service	

More than half of the Douglas County males listed farmer as their occupation. This number was almost certainly greater as twenty-two left the question blank, two wrote in "none," and three were self-employed. Fifty-three answered "farmer." There were five clerks, four laborers, two merchants, and two firemen, part-time. The following occupations had one each: meat market, minister, livery, truck driver, brick layer, carpenter, mill, salesman, confectioner, cannery laborer, and tailor.

There was some interesting correspondence from the US Attorney's office regarding Germans in Douglas County. A letter to A.E. Flory of Baldwin stated that it had been reported that he was entirely out of sympathy with the aims of the government, especially regarding the war, and that he was well-to-do but had given meagerly to the Red Cross and purchased few government securities.[64] It is probable this man was a Dunkard* and thus opposed to all military service. The same type of letter was written to Phillip Fleshman, also of Baldwin.[65] This man apparently then had his bank write to the attorney's office, reporting that Mr. Fleshman had purchased five Baby Bonds, which the banker said was average for his neighbors. In acknowledging this letter, the assistant attorney replied, "If this is average in your community, it does not seem to me that people are doing their part . . . We realize we are sometimes over-zealous solicitors; however, a little zeal is a mighty good thing at this time."[66]

The Attorney General's office in Washington, D.C., appears to have also thought they were sometimes over-zealous. Assistant Attorney General Samuel Graham wrote to US Attorney Robertson that one of his assistants (Arthus J. Mellott, writer of above letters to Baldwin citizens) had threatened a private citizen in order to coerce conduct, to get them to purchase bonds and/or contribute to the Red Cross. Robertson's response reviewed the correspondence regarding the matter, reported that Mellott's letter was standard, and concluded, "Trusting you will be able to approve of the motive, if not of the method of Mellott."[67] Succeeding letters were less threatening for a few weeks but then returned to the same aggressive tone.

Attorney Robertson wrote to the postmaster of Eudora, a community settled by Germans, that his office had received a number of complaints regarding disloyalty in that vicinity and asked the postmaster to make a full report. "We have information that even the ministers of the churches don't advise loyalty or unity of action in support of the war. Several people, men and women, have been named as disloyal."[68] Another letter to the postmaster regarded the alleged disloyalty of Adolph Lutz. Written June 21, 1918, this letter asked the postmaster to report on the circumstances concerning the yellow paint splashed on Lutz's office building a day or two before.[69] There is no affidavit for Mr. Lutz, but two of his sons registered.

Correspondence regarding Charles Kaiser of Eudora demonstrates that "disloyalty" was not always what it seemed. Attorney Robertson wrote to the US Marshal in Topeka,

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*This is a popular name for German Baptist. Most of the many Florys in that area are descendents of one German immigrant who was a member of that church.

> I have this day sent the Attorney General a telegram relative to alleged alien enemy Charles Kaiser of Eudora, who is in jail in Kansas City, Kansas, as follows: "Charles Kaiser in jail here. German subject. Is pro-German in acts and mental attitude and should be held as an enemy alien. Tried to induce his son not to register. Exercises evil influence in German neighborhood where lives. Wire order of dentention." No doubt a Presidental warrant will be telegraphed to me tomorrow or the next day.[70]

Robertson received the warrant the following day.

A week later Robertson wrote to the Douglas County Attorney, J.B. Wilson, asking if Kaiser had ever been charged with any crime. Nine days later Robertson wrote to the Attorney General, "You, no doubt, have in your file the reports of Bureau employee G.E. Barthell . . . Kaiser* tried to induce his son Lewis not to register for military service. There is no doubt but what Kaiser's desire to stand in the way of the United States and help Germany caused him to do this." He quotes from a letter from Douglas County Attorney Wilson relating that Kaiser had been charged before Wilson in February 1913 with assault with intent to kill by shooting at Louis Henry and Berthold Suwalt. Kaiser was permitted to plead guilty to assault and battery, fined $50 and discharged. In November 1914, Kaiser was tried for assault with intent to kill Carl C. Gurstenberger; he was acquitted on grounds of self defense. Wilson wrote, "In my opinion, he was guilty."

Continuing in his letter to the Attorney General, Robertson wrote, "Kaiser is a violently disturbing element in the community and the real Americans of the neighborhood are very much wrought up for fear he may be released and allowed to come back there. If he should be turned out for any reason, I am confident it would be a very dangerous thing for him to return to that community." He quoted a letter from Charles Schlegel, Douglas County Deputy Sheriff, "I feel positive his family and the whole community is better off without him." Robertson wrote that the postmaster at Eudora** described Charles Kaiser as being worthless, lazy, a big liar, and that it would be a good example to set for the other Germans in the neighborhood if he were interned. Robertson wrote, "I know the postmaster personally . . . a very conservative individual, careful in his statements and a man who always measures his words. I am inclined to give great weight to his judgment . . . I recommend internment for the remainder of the war."[71]

Two weeks later Robertson again wrote to the Attorney General, reminding him of his previous correspondence regarding Kaiser; Robertson, however, had changed his view. He had come to believe that Kaiser was "in large measure a victim of sentiment growing out of" his unpopularity among his neighbors. He thought "both the government agent who investigated, as well as my office, was misled

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*Kaiser did register as required at the proper time.

**The postmaster was Gustave Zieserris, of German descent, whose father and mother were registered as alien enemies.

considerably through the efforts of Charles Schlegel of Eudora, who has ambitions to enter government secret service and has apparently sought to make a record for himself in this case." Robertson wrote that he had testimony on Kaiser's behalf "gathered by one of the most reputable, patriotic and conscientious gentlemen in this city. I recommend parole." If parole was granted, Robertson requested that the Department of Justice permit him "to exercise discretion as to the territory in which he [Kaiser] shall move, the amount of the bond and the frequency with which he shall make reports."[72]

A final letter regarding Charles Kaiser was written by Robertson three weeks later, on October 21, 1918, again to the Attorney General. He acknowledged a telegram authorizing Kaiser's parole, with terms at Robertson's discretion. Robertson reported that his terms had been that Kaiser furnish a supervisor and a bond of $1,000.00, "which have been done," and that Kaiser was to remain in Wyandotte County "until and including November 1, 1918," and then in Douglas, Johnson, and Wyandotte Counties in Kansas.[73]

So it can be seen that reasons for reporting a German alien as disloyal could be self-serving and the charges less than truthful.

Correspondence from the US Attorney's office in 1917-18 to residents of Lawrence is diverse in nature.* Letters concerning school curriculum were sent to R.A. Kent, superintendent of Lawrence schools, and to Miss Riggs, addressed "in care of the high school." It had been reported that these two individuals allowed "certain German propaganda" in the schools by using German textbooks and songs, calculated and intended to bring the United States government into unfavorable comparison with the German government.[76] A later letter from the same assistant attorney stated he was satisfied there were no grounds for the charges.[77]

Robertson wrote to the Lawrence chief of police and to the county attorney regarding W.H. Gushenbush, the manager of a Lawrence business college. He wanted them to investigate to determine why Gushenbush was receiving letters from various active pro-Germans over the state. Robertson thought the circumstances were suspicious and that Gushenbush was possibly disloyal.[78] This man was not registered as an alien enemy.

In response to a letter from a native American in Lawrence who offered to be appointed custodian of alien enemy property, Robertson referred the man to A. Mitchell Palmer in Washington, D.C., who was responsible for this job on a national basis.[79]

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*Many of the early settlers in Lawrence were of German descent, and many of those were naturalized citizens. The first Turner Club in Lawrence (a national German social and athletic society) was formed in 1857. No one could join without first becoming an American citizen. In 1861 forty-four of the forty-eight members enlisted in the Union Army.[74] In 1917 fourteen of the twenty-two young men joined the United States military, most as volunteers. About one-fourth of all the boys mustered in 1917-18 bore family names of German origin. This was true of the Douglas County quota.[75]

Assistant US Attorney W.A. Blake wrote to W. Schaake that it had been reported that he had violated the Espionage Act. Blake suggested that Schaake "might save us the necessity of presenting your name to the next grand jury by informing us where you were born," etc.[80] Mr. Schaake must have replied immediately, denying disloyal statements, as Blake wrote again four days later reminding him, "You must realize that one of German birth or descent must be very careful in their conversation at this time and make no statement which could be construed in a false light by an enemy."[81] There is no affidavit for a man by this name in Lawrence.

Robertson wrote to special agent Arthur Bagley about two brothers in Lawrence, neither of whom were registered. The men, John and Henry Boener, operated a cigar factory, employing twenty girls. "There appears to be no doubt of the disloyalty of these men, nor of the fact that they have tried to impress these young women with the superiority of the Kaiser and the virtues of the German government. They have lagged back on all war movements . . ." Robertson enclosed affidavits of four women employees and reported that a committee had called on him the day before about the matter. The committee was composed of Henry H. Asher, lawyer, and C.S. Barrick of the Bowersock Mills, "both men of prominence and responsibility." It appeared to Robertson that the brothers should be investigated and possibly interned.

> While your investigator is in Lawrence, I would like to have him give some attention to a Miss Barteldes, a wealthy woman born in Germany, who sought naturalization in this country. The state court at Lawrence gave her a naturalization certificate some four or five years ago, which certificate was cancelled by a suit brought by myself in the Federal Court of Kansas upon the ground that she was a resident in Germany during the statutory period of five years preceding her application for naturalization. This woman is wealthy and influential, is active in the affairs of Lawrence, and therefore many complaints have come to this office of her disloyalty.[82]

There is an affidavit for Luise Barteldes, age seventy, who was the sister of F.W. Barteldes, a naturalized American and owner of a wholesale feed company in Lawrence. She was not wealthy; it was generally believed that she received an allowance from her brother. She was not influential nor active in Lawrence as she spent most of her time in Europe. This latter fact, plus her unconventional mode of dress and her literacy in English, German, Italian, French, and Spanish, may have caused mistrust, fear, and even jealousy in some Lawrence citizens. Robertson's reports undoubtedly had their origin from one or more of those people.[83]

A letter by assistant US Attorney Harvey to the Deputy Marshal in Topeka concerned John Simmerock, an instructor at Haskell Institute as a brick and stone mason. He wrote that Simmerock had refused to register and, after having been investigated was found to have been pro-German. Simmerock had expressed the hope that US soldiers in foreign service would never live to get home. The investigating agent believed he should be interned for the duration of the war. Harvey wrote that a son, Charles, had not registered but probably through

ignorance and the influence of his father. He was also employed at Haskell in the same capacity. The agent thought the son should be allowed to register (he did the following day, seven months late) and be granted a permit.[84]

A letter about a month later from Robertson to the Attorney General was a follow-up on John Simmerock. Robertson wrote "there does not seem to be any doubt but what he is disloyal . . . My recommendation . . . empower me to have him arrested and, after arrest, to grant him parole. It seems to me he ought not be permitted to be longer connected with the government institution at Haskell."[85]

Assistant US Attorney Harvey wrote to the Chief Naturalization Examiner in St. Louis about a man in Lawrence for whom there is no affidavit.

> I enclose what purports to be a declaration of intention of August Deitz, issued out of the District Court of Douglas County . . . also what purports to be the final naturalization papers of this alien . . . He is a very wealthy man living in Douglas County, refused to buy Liberty Bonds, never made any contribution to the Red Cross, YMCA, or other institution engaged in assisting and carrying on the war. He is extremely pro-German and has not gone far enough that we can successfully prosecute him under the Espionage Act, though believe he might be interned for the duration of the war if it is found he is an alien enemy . . . Please examine these papers.[86]

In looking at the figures for female registrants in Douglas County it should be noted that there were no affidavits for females in Richland. However, thirteen males registered there, and eight of them indicated they were married and that their wives lived at the home. All should have registered, either because they were aliens themselves or because they were married to aliens.

MIAMI COUNTY AFFIDAVITS

Township	males	females, includes females born in US	and females born elsewhere	port of arrival	
Bucyrus	6	5	3 -	New York	61
Louisburg	9	7	2 -	Baltimore	7
Osawatomie	3	2	1 -	Boston	5
Paola	33	32	10 -	New Orleans	3
Summerset	1	0	- -	Philadelphia	1
	52	46		Unknown	5

Males

first papers	registered for draft	permits	arrested	registered with German consul	could not write
38	0 (4 under age 40)	0	0	0	3

service in German military	service in US military	present age	arrival in US	parent(s) in Germany
6 all in US 24-50 years all aged 50-76	1 age 81 Civil War 3 years	youngest 21 oldest 81(2)	earliest 1851 at age 6 "on old sailing vessel"	3 2 in US 23 years 1 in US 4 years

relatives in arms for allies		relatives in arms against allies		occupation	
son	1	nephew(s)	3	farmer - self	25
nephew(s)	2	cousin(s)	2	farm hand	6
		"probable"	5	Catholic priest	1
				self-employed	1
				contractor	1
				ice company	1
				laborer	1
				truck gardener - self	1
				wheat business	1
				hauler of merchandise	1
				printer	1
				horse buyer - self	1
				no answer	10

Females - Miami County

present age	arrival in US	widows	single	divorced	non-German married to alien	alien married to registered male
youngest 19½	earliest in 1841	14	3	0	11 husband registered	15
oldest 84½	at age of 1				0 husband not registered	

alien married to unregistered male	parent(s) in Germany	brother(s) and/or sister(s) in Germany
1	0	10 4 had been in US 21-37 years 5 had been in US 44-56 years 1 had been in US 6 years; had 3 brothers in Germany; widow; had 19 year old daughter in US

relatives in arms for US		relatives in arms against allies	
son(s)	4 (1 had 2 sons fighting for US)	nephew(s)	3
grandson(s)	4 (1 had 3 grandsons for US)	cousin(s)	1
brother	1		
nephew(s)	8		
cousin(s)	5		
son-in-law	1		

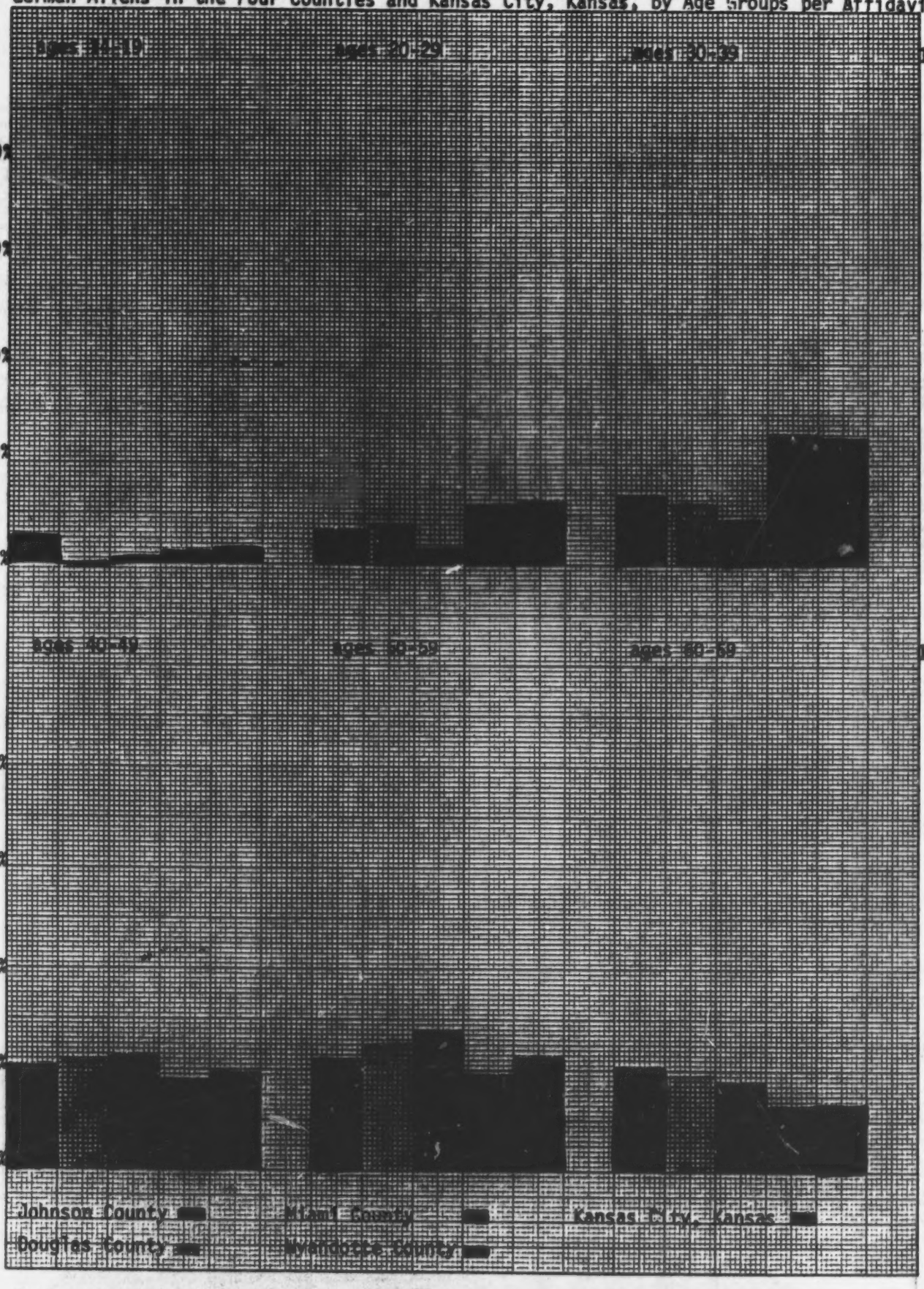
language: German only	English spoken but not written or read	Other
5 2 could not write 1 could not read or write at all	3 1 couldn't read or write at all 1 could write some German but couldn't sign name; read German	1 could speak and read German and English but couldn't write

occupation other than "wife" or "housewife"
domestic
student
made and sold embroidery work
cooked and waited tables (71 years old)
waitress ("speaks broken English")

I didn't find any correspondence from the US Attorney's office regarding German aliens residing in Miami County. Perhaps the primary reason is that in Miami County a much greater percentage of the males (seventy percent) were fifty years of age and older than in Douglas County (57.5 percent) and Johnson County (forty-six percent). Sixty-two percent of those listing an occupation in Miami County listed some type of farming; in Douglas County it was fifty percent; and in Johnson County, fifty-six percent. Because of the age factor, fewer German aliens in Miami County had parents living in Germany. Also they had fewer relatives bearing arms against the allies, and those that were, were distant relatives. The other three counties all had German aliens listing some brothers in the German military; Miami County did not. I think the age factor and the relative isolation of farm life contributed to fewer instances of rash remarks and/or actions and to fewer instances of native Americans reporting on neighbors.

There was a letter from the US Marshal's office in Topeka with the affidavits. It was addressed to the postmaster in Paola, signed by the chief deputy and referred to George Homrighausen. "Replying to yours of the 20th instant in regard to certain German alien. You are required to register this man in the usual way if it is apparent that he did not attempt to evade registration to start with and his failure to do so was through ignorance." Mr. Homrighausen's affidavit is dated two days later, two weeks after the other affidavits for males in Paola.

German Aliens in the Four Counties and Kansas City, Kansas, by Age Groups per Affidavits



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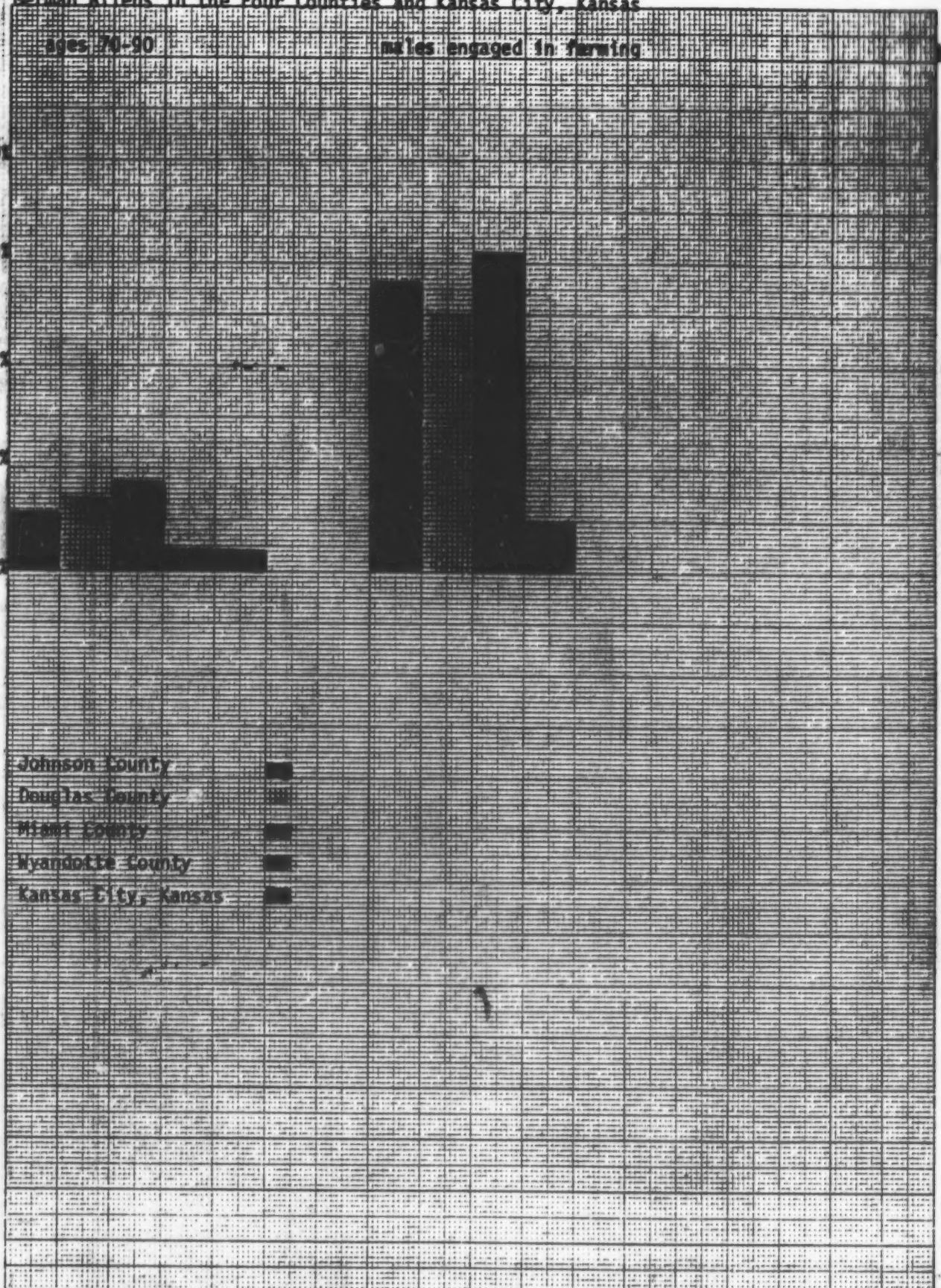
German Aliens in the Four Counties and Kansas City, Kansas

Ages 70-90 Males engaged in farming



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WYANDOTTE COUNTY AFFIDAVITS

Township	males	females, includes females born in US	and	females born elsewhere	port of arrival	
Argentine	2	0	0		New York	236
Armourdale	2	0	0		Baltimore	32
Bethel	6	5	3		Philadelphia	10
Bonner Springs	2	2	0		Hoboken	11
Kansas City	157	153	45	7 (1 each in	Galveston	1
Muncie	1	0	0	Switzerland	New Orleans	3
Piper	1	1	0	Sweden	Canada	3
Wallula	1	1	0	Norway	Newark	1
Rosedale	18	12	2	Denmark	Unknown	11
	190	174		Poland		
				Scotland		
				England)		

Males

first papers	registered for draft	permits	arrested	charge	registered with German consul
157	28	49	12	3 liquor charges 1 grand larceny, on parole 1 court martial - US 5 vagrancy, disturbing the peace 1 alien enemy 1 abusing German consul	5 all registered in 1914 2 arrived in US in 1914 2 arrived in US in 1913 1 arrived in US in 1910 all had family in Germany 4 had 1 or more brothers in arms against the allies

service in German military	service in US military	present age	arrival in US	parent(s) in Germany
29 includes at least 1 serving in the 1850s, 5 in the 1870s and 3 in the 1880s 1 served 1911-13	2 in Civil War 1 in 1886-1888 1 in Spanish-Am. War; 7 years 1 for 3 years: now age 31; arrived 1907	youngest 15 oldest 75	earliest in 1856 at age 12	31 26 arrived in the US since 1900

service in German military	service in US military	present age	arrival in US	parent(s) in Germany
	1 drafted Sept. 1917; age 22; arrived in 1913; 3 years in Austrian military school; father and brother in arms against allies			
	1 for 2½ years; age 23; arrived 1913; brother killed in German military			
	1 for 6 months; age 24: arrived 1913; 2 brothers in arms against allies			

relatives in arms for allies			relatives in arms against allies		
son(s)	10	(2 had 2)	father	1	
brother(s)	2		son	0	
brother(s)-in-law	2		brother(s)	26	(1 had 4; 5 had 3; 6 had 2; 1 had brother and nephew against and step-son and nephew for allies)
nephew(s)	7	(1 also had nephews against)	brother(s)-in-law	6	(3 had 2)
			son-in-law	1	
cousin(s)	4		cousin(s)	6	
			uncle(s)	6	
			nephew(s)	8	
			"unknown" or "possibly"	5	

miscellaneous	occupation							
3 males, ages 16, 18 & 25, were born in Denmark of German father; arrived in US in 1905	meat packing plants (includes laborers there)					30	janitor	1
1 man who registered was later found to have been naturalized in 1896	salesman					2	glass cutter	1
	laborers					20	Star carrier	1
	railroad:	car repair	5	machinest	3		truck driver	3
		motorman	2	car cleaner	2		iron worker	1
		oiler	1	boilermaker	1		factory worker	1
		pipe fitter	1	car man	1		sheep dipper	1
		foreman	1	car inspector	1		engineer	2
		truckman	1	yard clerk	1		odd repair jobs	1
		carpenter	1	laborer	1		office boy	1
	farmer - self					15	tailor	1
	farm hand					4	blacksmith	1
	clerk					11	fireman	2

miscellaneous	occupation							
	sausageman					1	steel worker	1
	butcher					2	electrician	1
	bakery:	self	2	others	4		caretaker	1
	dairy:	self	2	others	3		druggist	1
	carpenter					9	mechanic	1
	cabinet maker					4	steel fitter	1
	self-employed (includes jeweler, grocer, shoe maker, restaurant owner)						bartender	2
						12	cooper	2
	construction					2	plumber	1
	hotel waiter and cook					1	machinist	2
	retired or "not employed"					5		
	none listed					2		

Females - Wyandotte County

present age	arrival in US	widows	single	divorced	non-German married to alien	alien married to registered male
youngest 14 (3)	earliest in 1845	24	31	4	46 husband registered	48
oldest 79 (2)	at age 7				11 husband not registered	

alien married to unregistered male	parent(s) in Germany	brother(s) and/or sister(s) in Germany
7	4 in US 6 years or less and with brothers in German Army	45 16 of these also had a brother and/or sister in US
	4 in US 15 years or less and with brothers in German Army	
	5 in US 22-38 years and with other family members in Germany	other
	2 with sons fighting in US military	1 woman, divorced, had 2 sons in Germany; another son, age 16, registered here as an alien enemy

relatives in arms for US			relatives in arms against allies		
sons(s)	13	3 had 2 sons	1 brother	5	2 brothers 4 3 brothers 5
brother(s)	12	3 had 2*	brother-in-law	5	1 had 3 brothers-in-law
brother-in-law(s)	2		nephew(s)	8	
cousin(s)	8		cousin(s)	2	
nephew(s)	12		uncle	1	he had been killed
			son	1	she had 3 sons and 1 brother-in-law against the allies; a widow; arrived in US in 1912 with a daughter, age 25; had brother and sister in Germany and a brother in US

*a sister of 1 of these women did not list the 2 brothers

language:	German only	English spoken but not written or read	couldn't read or write	couldn't write
	7	17	5	4

occupation other than "wife" or "housewife"			
nurse, Sister of Charity, at St. Margarets Hospital	11	inspector	1
domestic	9	typist	1
factory worker	2	deaconess nurse	1
janitor, Catholic school	1	grocer	1
laundry	1	student	1
meat packing plant	1		
instrument testing for KCP&L	1		

miscellaneous

1 woman, had in the past, been in government service as cook, 5 years, Leavenworth, Ks.
1 14 year old girl was born in Kansas; mother was German citizen born in Russia

Papers included with the affidavits listed permit numbers issued throughout the state. Among these papers was one giving names of twenty-two men with Kansas City addresses who had been issued permits to enter restricted zones. There were no affidavits for these men, except perhaps for three of them. In these cases, the spelling of the name was similar to that on an affidavit which also indicated that man had been issued a permit.

The greater amount of correspondence for Wyandotte County reflects the larger number of German aliens living there. The following people received letters: Dr. W.D. Smith of Rosedale regarding his strongly pro-German sentiment and talk;[87] John Knetter who lived between Piper and Wolcott and who stated he would kill himself before he would fight for this country;[88] M.A. Storer of Muncie who was reported to have violated the Espionage Act by having "the children in your school sing the German National Anthem" and having said "that Germany will win the war within the next six months"[89] (letter dated April 22, 1918); Henry Sander and Andrew Newman of Muncie who had not registered as alien enemies;[90] and William Bachnick of Bonner Springs requesting information regarding his birth place, nationality, and personal worth.[91] A letter to the postmaster in Wallula, Karl Gonser, stated that Gonser reportedly was extremely pro-German and took advantage of his position as postmaster and privilege as a merchant to spread German propaganda and disregard the Federal Food Regulations. "It is reported that your place of business is considered as headquarters for pro-German and disloyal elements in that community." It was also reported that he sold flour without selling a corresponding amount of substitutes.[92] None of the above men had affidavits on record. Robert E. Heyn of Wallula was registered, and correspondence shows he was arrested in May 1918 and confined in the Wyandotte County jail as an alien enemy. A letter the following month reports he was paroled on the condition he not go outside Kansas City, Kansas, and Johnson County and that he not enter barred zones unless authorized. His bond was $1,000.00; he was to report once every two weeks to a supervisor and to the Deputy US Marshal at Kansas City.[93] Heyn, twenty-two years old, was unmarried, a farm hand, and had arrived in the United States in 1912. His parents were alive in Germany, and he had two brothers fighting against the allies. He had applied for naturalization in 1917 in Leavenworth and had also registered for the selective draft there.

Between 1910 and 1920 over seventy-five percent of the German-born population of Wyandotte County lived in Kansas City, Kansas; in 1915 it was over eighty-five percent. Census figures for Kansas City, Kansas, show the following:

1910	1,853	German-born
1915	1,770	German-born
1920	1,771	German-born[94]

Letters from the office of the US Attorney for the District of Kansas to Mrs. Rose Bossart, C.E. Fisher, Mrs. Joseph Lory, Clyde Riley, and G. Frohwerk, all of Kansas City, stated each had violated the Espionage Act.[95] Only Mrs. Lory had an affidavit on record, as did her husband. She was fifty-two years old, had arrived in the United States in 1880, had a brother living in this country, had no relatives in arms against the allies, and had parents who were deceased. Her husband reported similar facts.

Frank Holwich, Otto Brenner, and Mrs. Fred Kluge were each accused of being disloyal.[96] None had affidavits on record. Letters to Joe Gottesburen, Wm. Riedel, and H.L. Gottenburen of Kansas City requested information about their nationality.[97] There were no affidavits for them. Joe Gottensburen was quoted to have reportedly said, "Let them take the American boys over there and we will give them hell here." A letter by one of the assistant attorneys to Joe Steinfeld of Kansas City said Steinfeld was guilty of the Espionage Act by his conduct and actions. "You exerted your influence against the sale of the Third Liberty Loan Bond and are strongly pro-German in your talk . . . Your name seems to indicate you are German. I wish you would advise this office."[98] There was no affidavit for a man by this name. One letter was addressed to Mrs. Sarah Judd Greenman, librarian, The Carnegie Library, Kansas City, Kansas. She was advised, "The book entitled, 'The War and America,' by Hugo Munsterbert, printed by D. Appleton & Co., N.Y. and London, 1914, is deemed dangerous propaganda." She was to notify the attorney's office if it was in the library.[99]

There were letters written to several men of Austrian birth. Five letters related to Mat Sokal, an alien enemy, interned at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia. "His attorney now practically admits he is unable to controvert the information upon which I recommended permanent internment."[100] Attorney Robertson wrote to the Attorney General about twenty-nine year old Mike Kavarevic who had lived in Kansas City nine years, had not worked for the past six months, had refused to register for the draft, and had never attempted to become naturalized. Robertson wrote that Kavarevic had two brothers in the Austrian army fighting for the Kaiser, that he had tried to return to Austria to fight, and that he didn't register as an alien enemy because he didn't know anything about it. The assistant attorney who made an investigation reported Kavarevic was "extremely shrewd and cunning. He is considered a dangerous agitator by the Austrians in Kansas City. He should be interned for the war period."[101] Tom Cavlovich did register, but a letter by Robertson in June 1918 shows he was jailed as a dangerous alien enemy. "All his own countrymen say he is depraved and ought to be confined." A letter written a week later described him as a moral pervert and recommended internment for the duration of the war. His affidavit shows that Cavlovich came to the United States in 1913, that he was twenty-four years old, his parents were alive in Austria, and he had two brothers fighting in the Austrian army. He had applied for naturalization, had registered for the selective draft, and had served in the United States military for six months. He was a laborer and had been arrested for violating liquor laws.[102]

A letter to the US Marshal in Topeka from assistant Attorney Harvey showed that Barney Greenberg of Kansas City was jailed as an alien enemy. "Of course, he like other traitors of his type, denied he was an alien enemy and denied any charges of disloyalty. He claims citizenship in that his father was naturalized in Albany, New York."[103] There was no affidavit for Barney Greenberg. A letter to Mrs. Schmitz of Kansas City stated: "It is reported you won't allow your boys to fight in the United States Army and against your native country (which you call "Fatherland") as you have relatives in the German Army. Please call this office in person."[104] There is an affidavit for a Mary Schmitz, fifty-seven years old and a widow. She thought she had relatives bearing arms

against the United States but didn't know who they were. She had four sons between the ages of eighteen and thirty-four. She arrived in the United States in 1881.

In May 1918 US Attorney Robertson wrote a lengthy letter to the Attorney General, who two weeks earlier had issued a Presidential warrant for Peter Goesser, then in the Wyandotte County jail. He had been heard by a number of persons to say, regarding the Third Liberty Loan Bond drive,

> The entire bond scheme is a fake. The bonds the government proposes to sell will not be worth anything in a short time because Germany will win this war and the Kaiser will establish his government here. The first payment of five percent made by subscribers to the bond is a commission paid to the solicitors, which they put in their pockets and keep for their services. The way to keep from being annoyed by these bond solicitors is to subscribe for a $50.00 bond and then pay them $2.50, get the button, and forget about it.

Robertson wrote that Goesser did not deny having made the statements and admitted he had been born in Germany. He added that Goesser was a tool grinder, traveling all over the city soliciting work. Robertson thought there was no doubt that he had been circulating German propaganda. It was Robertson's judgment that Goesser was a dangerous alien enemy and should be interned for the remainder of the war. A three page letter written by Robertson in October of the same year shows that Goesser was interned at Fort Oglethorpe and that Robertson recommended he should not be released.[105] There was no affidavit for Peter Goesser.

In a letter to the Attorney General on May 2, 1918, Robertson wrote about Joseph Siedle, a German alien enemy in the county jail in Kansas City. He wrote that Siedle had come from Germany twenty-two years before, had taken out his first papers for naturalization but that he hadn't followed up, even though he had been reminded do so. He had entered barred zones without a permit, had avoided registering and had denounced the United States. Siedle had "expressed hope that the ships carrying our soldiers would be sunk by Germany, even expressed the desire that the ship upon which his stepson was stationed would be sunk in the ocean by German submarines." He had purchased no Liberty Bonds, given nothing to the Red Cross, and had resisted all war activities. Robertson recommended internment. Writing to the Attorney General in late November, he said he would reinvestigate. He wrote that Siedle was then interned at Fort Oglethorpe and that Siedle's wife, who lived at 2533 Allen, had filed for divorce.[106] There was an affidavit for a Joe Seidl or Leidl. The handwriting was difficult to read; it was filed under "L." The writer thinks it is very possibly the same man. He worked in one of the meat packing plants and said he had come to the United States about twenty years before. He was forty-five years old and had taken out first papers. He did not show relatives fighting for either side. He reported that his wife had deserted him and lived on Quindaro; his address was 643 Northrup. He had no permit; his parents were deceased, and he had served in the Bavarian military for three years.

The most interesting correspondence regarding anyone in the four counties concerned a young German, twenty-seven years old, who did register. He is mentioned in a letter to the US Marshal in Topeka as follows:

> The state of the public mind is such, and is going to be such that it is not advisable even for the personal welfare of an alien enemy to engage in any such business [furnishing of food supplies to the public and/or the army]. A young German chemist whom I have every confidence in, whose heart I am sure is with America, but who unfortunately is not a naturalized citizen, was subjected to indignities in this community and the business of his employers, which was that of retailing milk to the public, was endangered merely because of the fact that this young man is a German subject. You see these things occuring everywhere.

A letter, dated April 18, 1918, to the Attorney General gave the facts and may be found in the appendix.

The chemist requested internment because his nationality kept him from finding work and because he wanted "to avoid conflict and difficulty with Americans." A letter a few days later reported authorization for internment had been received from the Attorney General.[107] The incident was reported in the Kansas City Star.[108] According to his affidavit, he arrived in the United States in October 1914. His father was deceased; he didn't know if his mother was still living but did give her residence in Germany at the time he left that country. He had worked for a veterinarian in Texas, and later he was a veterinary student in Kansas City, Missouri. Until his dismissal in the early spring of 1918, he was a chemist for a Kansas City, Kansas, dairy. He was unmarried and had registered for the selective draft in Kansas City, Missouri. He indicated he had cousins fighting for the allies, as well as uncles, cousins, and brothers-in-law fighting against the allies--"about every male member of my nearest relatives." He had not applied for naturalization in the United States. When asked to state all previous military or naval or other government service, he wrote, "1 year volunteer, German Army--was set back for further service until 27 years old, eligible for Reserve Officer." In answer to the question whether he had registered with a foreign consul, he wrote that at the outbreak of the war he reported as a Reservist to the German consul in New Orleans, but was dismissed as there was no transportation. "My last communication with Germany!" The next question asked if he had ever been arrested, and he answered in the affirmative. The charge, later dismissed by the court was "abusing the person of the German consular agent at Kansas City, Missouri." He had been issued a permit to enter forbidden areas. He was described by the registration officer as having a large nose, a small mouth, a square chin, prominent ears, a light mustache, and a scar on the right cheek. The photograph shows a handsome, well-dressed young man with an aristocratic appearance.

The greater number of internments and charges of violating the Espionage Act must have been because of the concentration of many Germans in an urban area. Also, over all, they were younger; had been in the United States a shorter time; had more family members in Germany; and had more relatives in arms

against the United States. From alleged statements made by several, there must have been some cause to suspect disloyalty. Then it just became easier to imagine all German aliens guilty.

About two-thirds of those arrested throughout the country were paroled and required to report to supervisors periodically. The total internment camp population at any one time probably numbered no more than 3,000 to 4,000.[109] A total of about 6,000 were interned during the war.[110] In April 1918, 2,000 were being held; by the end of the war the number was 2,500.[111] Although treatment was good, internees were not allowed much communication with the outside. As the war continued, order and morale deteriorated; nevertheless, only about 500 of the civilian internees chose to return to Germany before the camps were closed in April 1920.[112] Between the fall of 1917 and that of 1918, $2,500,000.00 worth of property was taken from interned alien enemies.[113]

None of the females in Wyandotte County indicated on their affidavits that they had permits to enter forbidden zones; however, a list of permits issued to Kansas City, Kansas, females listed 101 names, plus one woman in Piper. Approximately half of them did not have affidavits on record.

During the period of registration of the German alien enemies, February through June 1918, acts of violence increased dramatically. In Pensacola, Florida, an American-born man of German origin was severly flogged and forced to leave the state. In Avoca, Pennsylvania, an Austrian-American was tied up, hoisted thirty feet in the air, and a fire hose was turned on him. He was released an hour later. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, a man was tarred and feathered, given fifty lashes, then released after he promised to leave the city.[114] In Lowde, Iowa, the pastor of the German Evangelical church was charged with treason and threatened with lynching, even though he had a son in the United States Army. He finally was set free after promising to display the American flag above the church pulpit.[115] In the fall a German Lutheran parochial school was dynamited in Schumm, Ohio.[116] Violence in the nation reached a climax on April 5 of that year in Collinsville, Illinois, a rural community of 4,000 located ten miles northeast of St. Louis. Here Robert Prager was lynched. He had arrived in the United States in 1905 at the age of nineteen. When war was declared he took out first citizenship papers and tried unsuccessfully to enlist in the United States Navy.[117] This is the only authenticated case of lynching during World War I.

Kansas German aliens faced similar acts of violence. A German Lutheran minister was tarred at Worden (near Lawrence) for refusing to deliver sermons in English that supported the Red Cross and Liberty Bond drives.[118] In September a German Lutheran parochial school was destroyed by fire in Herington.[119] Mennonites in the rural areas of Marion, Harvey, McPherson, Butler, and Reno counties bore the brunt of anti-German hostility in Kansas.[120] This has been well-documented by James C. Juhnke as well as others. Juhnke believes Governor Capper influenced mob violence by his attitude. "He [Capper] said he advised one man to either invest in Liberty bonds or leave the state and that he would insist upon thorough loyalty or removal from Kansas."[121] This view is shared by Herbert Pankratz:

> Governor Capper and US Attorney Robertson contributed to the highly uncertain, emotional atmosphere by denouncing slackers, pro-Germans and IWWs, and by urging Kansans to spy on and to inform authorities about neighbors suspected of disloyalty. They did little to combat the numerous incidents of mob violence and to prosecute those who participated.[122]

Even peace did not satisfy the self-proclaimed defenders of America. A false peace rumor turned Kansans into "howling mobs" on November 7, 1918. Thousands jammed streets, yelling, waving flags, believing the war was over. At Kensington a German Lutheran church and two other buildings were burned.[123] On Armistice Day, November 11, a gang (five carloads) of Kansas patriots dragged John Schrag, a Mennonite farmer whose religious principles wouldn't permit support of war and who had therefore refused to buy bonds, from his farm eleven miles from Burrton into town. A crowd gathered. They demanded that he buy bonds, salute the flag, and march at the head of a parade carrying the flag. Schrag offered to contribute $200.00 to the Red Cross and the Salvation Army. Someone thrust the flag into his hand. It fell to the ground and was unavoidably stepped on. The mob was enraged and attacked Schrag, doused him in yellow paint, and threw him in jail. Their plans to hang him were frustrated when a sheriff took Schrag to the county seat [Newton] where he was charged under the Espionage Act for having desecrated the flag.[124]

Gradually the anti-German hysteria began to subside. Given the climate of intolerance and suspicion, it is suprising how quickly many German-Americans recovered from the trauma of the war.[125] By outward appearances at least, assimilation into American society was quickened, largely by the demise of so many German language publications* and the cessation of the use of German in churches, schools, and other public places. Kansas City, Kansas, was an important exception. By 1948 it was the only town of more that 4,000 in which a German sermon could be heard in the Lutheran churches of the Missouri Synod.** Up to 1959 St. Luke's church still provided such a possibility. In 1940 Topeka high school students, descendants of Roman Catholic Volga immigrants in 1875, often spoke German at home; and in 1961 middle-aged women could occasionally be heard to speak German to each other in public.[128]

Regarding the violence that occurred during the winter of 1917 and throughout most of 1918, Herbert Hoover wrote in his memoirs that "emotion had replaced all reason." William Allen White lamented the intolerance that swept the land and said, "The war has a throttle grip on our thinking."[129] It should be noted that most of the acts actually violent were perpetrated by mobs rather than by individuals. Emotion rather than intelligence seems to have ruled in such situations, and the individual seems to have done things he normally would not

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*The Topeka Capitol demanded the suppression of every German language publication because "each was disloyal and desired a victory for the Kaiser."[126]

**By one pre-World War I estimate, about one-half of the approximately two million Lutheran churches in America conducted worship services in the German language prior to the war.[127]

have done if he were held accountable for his own actions. With reference to the numerous incidents of neighbors reporting one another for suspected disloyalty or treason, many undoubtedly were made honestly and with patriotic intent, based on questionable or unexplained statements. Some Germans made rash remarks because of a belief that the Kaiser had acted with justification, because of close family ties in Germany, because of a lack of understanding of the whole issue, and/or because of a sincere opinion that the United States was acting unwisely. Many reports must have been made because of fear. There had been German spies and saboteurs in the United States before this country entered the war; there were unexplained explosions and fires. Most of those spies fled after war was declared by President Wilson, but American citizens couldn't be sure they were all gone, particularly in light of some of the propaganda put out by the government and by statements made by people in authority. It is interesting to notice US Attorney Robertson's harsh and quick judgments in most cases, with the exception of individual German aliens he had known prior to the war or with those he met through investigations and came to regard with favor, such as chemist Hansjoachim von Fischer-Treuenfeld. Most people, however, were probably as subjective in their judgment. Many reports were made because of jealousy, mistrust of someone not understood, or simply because of self-righteousness.

Governmental leaders, as well as common citizens, were in disagreement about entering the war, and the advisability of the United States doing so is still being questioned by some today. Perhaps lofty ideals rather than specific goals were used to justify entry.[130] President Wilson frequently acted belatedly and with a lack of decisiveness. Statements by other politicans have been noted previously. Correspondence from Fred Robertson regarding the duties of his office and the actions of Governor Capper indicate the probability of some political motivation in their actions.[131] In light of the harsh and negative attitude of Robertson and his assistants as evidenced in their correspondence, what is a reader to make of the following letter written by assistant attorney Blake to a Presbyterian minister in Neodesha, dated October 10, 1918?

> Kansas City, Kansas, went over the top in a volunteer drive in three days time. There is a large foreign population in Kansas City and most of them foreign born who are conversant with the situation and condition in Europe. Practically all of these men have been very loyal as they know what it means if the Kaiser wins, and they all bought bonds to the absolute limit of their means.[132]

There are no simple answers. Obviously caution was needed, and suspicion of recent arrivals from Germany was not unreasonable. But discretion and understanding by those in positions of leadership and authority was needed. What must have been the emotions of those elderly Germans as they registered? Many had been in the United States for over thirty years, some arriving as young children. Consider the Kansas City, Kansas, woman who had two sons in the United States Navy, volunteers; a third son was in training; and a fourth son "may go any day, whenever he is needed." She was designated an alien enemy because she had been born in Germany sixty years before. Was the eighty-one year old man in Paola who arrived in the United States in 1859 really dangerous? He had not been naturalized but wrote on his affidavit, "I served three

years and three months in the Union Army during the rebellion and till the close of the war. I always understood that made me a citizen." Was there reason to doubt his loyalty based on the place of his birth so many years before? And there was the Lawrence woman, who, in response to the question had she ever applied for naturalization, replied, "Sorry no." She had lived in this country for thirty-nine years and was considered trustworthy enough to be employed in a factory making khaki uniforms for the United States Army.

Considering how long President Wilson debated before committing the United States to battle, surely there was time to make better plans for deciding who needed to be registered or investigated. The lack of follow-up on the majority of those who had received letters from the US Attorney's office indicate few were actually worthy of suspicion. The required registration of John Gottman may not have been the only reason he committed suicide, but his desperate act illustrates the fear and uncertainty of most of the German aliens, and it was caused in part by the fear and uncertainty of the American citizens.

To give the situation a proper perspective, however, it should be noted that in France all enemy aliens not of military age, all women and children were interned. Enemy aliens of military age in France became prisoners of war.[133]

Appendix

April 18th, 1918

The Attorney General,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Upon the thirteenth instant, I wired you as follows:

> "Hansjoachim Von Fischer Treuenfeld, alien enemy, until today chemist for Myer Sanitary Dairy Company, this city, has surrendered his alien enemy permit and asks internment during remainder of war. He asserts he has been mistreated and cannot obtain room or board without great discomfort, is embarrassed at every turn because his personal appearance is typically German. Desires internment to avoid conflict and difficulty with Americans. Was discharged by Milk Company, his supervisor, because public criticized their keeping man of his type. Wire authority."

To this you wired answer the seventeenth instant:

> "You are hereby authorized to arrest under regulation number twelve of the President's proclamation Hansjoachim von Fischer-Treuenfeld."

Previous to sending you my telegram of the thirteenth instant, I had seen this gentleman personally, and had received from him his letter bearing date of April twelfth as follows:

> "Having forwarded the notice of my dismissal from the position as Chief Chemist with the Meyer Sanitary Milk Company, Kansas City, Kansas, to the office of the United States Marshal for the District of Kansas City, Kansas, I hereby respectfully apply <u>voluntarily</u> for my internment for the duration of the war between the United States of America and Germany, my native country. I submit the following reason for my request to be interned:
>
> My sudden discharge from my position without notice.
>
> The fact that since the beginning of the war I have earned just a livelihood and have been without means except the salary I have been earning, which forces me to look immediately for further employment. The difficulities to which I have been exposed since the beginning of this war have been and are increasing every day, more and more; and many people look with suspicion upon me. This has done me immense harm and is preventing my winning the confidence of new employers.

> Realizing and respecting the sentiments of the American people, I fully appreciate my condition, and it has been always my earnest endeavor to comply with the laws and restrictions placed upon alien enemies. Nevertheless, it has been unavoidable that I have been subjected to actual physical violence. Having been in the United States only four years and a half, and speaking the English language with very apparent German accent and bearing the typical manners of a full blood German, I am exposed every day anew to difficulties of this kind. As it is my wish to make the United States my home, I sincerely want to avoid anything which would reflect upon me with my newly acquired friends.
>
> Considering all these circumstances, and in the interests of the protection of my person and for the preservation of my attitude of neutrality, I have come to the decision to put myself voluntarily at the disposal of the Department of Justice and apply for my internment."

Today I took the time to interview this young man at some length. He impresses me as being a clean, high-minded fellow, of the typical German student appearance, about twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age, very bright mentally, with affable manners, but handicapped by his unmistakable German appearance and accent. He related the circumstance of his suffering indignities, his intelligence and demeanor causing him to be suspected of being a spy and emissary of the German government and a dangerous alien enemy. It is his opinion that in order to preserve his personal safety, as well as his mental attitude, which is friendly to this country, he should seek protection in an internment camp until the war is over. Unless I am greatly deceived in my judgement of human nature, this young man is entirely in sympathy and accord with the United States and its institutions, desires to be an American citizen, and very greatly regrets he is not now naturalized. On account of the circumstance that have grown up about him, and because of what I have heretofore called attention to, I recommend his internment during the remainder of the war. I also recommend that consideration be given of his capabilities and his intellectual accomplishments, to the end that the same may be made use of if it be desired while he is in custody of the Government.

This young man does not deserve to be in a common jail. I urge immediate action upon the receipt of this communication, and that special telegraphic instructions be issued to the end that he be placed in an internment camp and relieved from incarceration in the jail here at the earliest possible moment.

Respectfully yours,

United States Attorney

FR-WS.

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1. Edward Robb Ellis, Echoes of Distant Thunder, New York: Coward, McCann and Geohegan, Inc., 1975, page 40.

2. Frederick C. Luebke, Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I, Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974, page 28.

3. Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, Stephan Thernstein, editor, Cambridge, Mass., and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980, page 406.

4. Carl Wittke, German Americans and the World War, Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State Archives and Historical Society, 1936, page 3.

5. Luebke, page 276.

6. Ellis, page 26.

7. Clifford L. Nelson, German-American Political Behavior in Nebraska and Wisconsin, Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska, 1972, page 4.

8. Ibid., page 7.

9. Luebke, page 45.

10. Ellis, page 434.

11. Gregory J. Stucky, "Fighting Against War: The Mennonite Vorwaerts From 1914-1919," Kansas Historical Quarterly, summer 1972, page 3.

12. Luebke, page 49.

13. Ibid., page 59.

14. Captain Henry Landau, The Enemy Within, New York: Van Rees Press, 1937, pages 306-7.

15. Ellis, page 190.

16. Nelson, page 8.

17. Luebke, page 131.

18. Nelson, page 94.

19. Luebke, page 234.

20. Ibid., page 268.

21. Poster by National Committee of Patriotic Societies, Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.

22. Luebke, page 213 and American Loyalty by Citizens of German Descent, Number 6 of War Information Series, Washington, D.C.: Committee on Public Information, August 1917.

23. Forrest Crissey, The Merchant and the New National Spirit, Chicago: Marshall Field and Co., 1920.

24. Ellis, page 426.

25. Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, People of Kansas, Topeka, Ks.: The Kansas State Planning Board, 1936, pages 49-52.

26. Ibid., page 211.

27. David Mould, The Kansas Immigrants, Lawrence, Ks.: University of Kansas, 1980, pages 13 and 18.

28. J. Neale Carman, Foreign-Language Units of Kansas, Lawrence, Ks.: The University of Kansas Press, 1962, page 36.

29. George P. Morehouse, "Kansas as a State of Extremes, and Its Attitude During This World War," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, vol. 15 (1919-1922), page 22.

30. Ibid., page 27.

31. William Frank Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State, Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957, page 229.

32. Ibid., page 230.

33. Reno's Response: Reno County in the World War 1917-1919, Fred Henney, ed., Hutchinson, KS: Hutchinson Press, 1920, page 19.

34. Ibid., page 149.

35. Kansas City Star, 9 April 1918, page 1.

36. Herbert Pankratz, "The Suppression of Alleged Disloyalty in Kansas During World War I," Kansas Historical Quarterly, vol. XLII, Autumn 1976, page 279.

37. Copies of Official Letters Sent by the US Attorney, box 37 vol. 71 #7.

38. Ibid., #109

39. Ibid., vol. 72 #197.

40. Pankratz, page 281.

41. Ibid., page 299.

42. Letters, box 36 vol. 69 #430.

43. Ibid., box 39 vol. 78 #399.

44. The Annals of Kansas, vol. 2, 1911-1925, Kirke Mecham, ed., Topeka, Ks.: Kansas State Historical Society, 1956, pages 187 and 209.

45. Letters, box 37 vol. 70 #15,3,4; box 40, vol. 79 #65.

46. Annals, page 213.

47. Letter to author from Frieda Reetz, 30 January 1984.

48. Kansas City Star, 18 February 1918, page 1.

49. Letters, box 37, vol. 73 #60.

50. Ibid., box 38 vol. 74 #44.

51. Carman, Foreign-Language, page 174-5.

52. Registration affidavits of alien enemies and alien females submitted by local registrars to the chief registrar for the District of Kansas (US Marshal) under provisions of proclamations of the President dated 16 November 1917 and 19 April 1918.

53. Carman, Foreign-Language, page 126-7.

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55. Ibid., page 302-07.

56. Kansas City Star, 1 July 1918, page 1.

57. E.P. Hutchinson, Immigrants and Their Children, 1850-1950, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956, page 177.

58. Letters, box 40 vol. 79 #156.

59. Ibid., box 39 vol. 78 #406, 460.

60. Ibid., box 38 vol. 75 #349 and box 39 vol. 76 #50,51,52.

61. Ibid., box 38 vol. 75 #189.

62. Ibid., box 38 vol. 74 #44.

63. Ibid., box 37 Vol. 70 #141.

64. Ibid., box 38 vol. 75 #365

65. Ibid., #384

66. Ibid., box 39 vol. 76 #167.

67. Ibid., #362.

68. Ibid., box 36 vol. 67 #382.

69. Ibid., box 38 vol. 74 #173.

70. Ibid., box 40 vol. 79 #365.

71. Ibid., box 40 vol. 81 #340.

72. Ibid., box 41 vol. 82 #199.

73. Ibid., #409.

74. Henry Albach, History of the Turnverein, Lawrence, Ks.: Lawrence Democrat, 1941.

75. Henry Albach, "Ignorance and Malice," The Lawrence Democrat, 1922, reprint ed., Lawrence, Ks., 1941.

76. Letters, box 37 vol. 70 #355, 356.

77. Ibid., vol. 72 #9.

78. Ibid., box 36 vol. 67 #124.

79. Ibid., vol. 69 #273.

80. Ibid., #68, 148.

81. Ibid., #265.

82. Ibid., vol. 69 #126.

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84. Letters, box 40 vol. 81 #397.

85. Ibid., box 41 vol. 82 #152.

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87. Ibid., box 37 vol. 71 #161.

88. Ibid., box 36 vol. 69 #61.

89. Ibid., #77.

90. Ibid., #83 and vol. 67 #306.

91. Ibid., box 37 vol. 71 #365.

92. Ibid., vol. 70 # 354.

93. Ibid., vol. 71 #285 and box 38 vol. 73 #378.

94. Carman, Foreign Language, page 307.

95. Letters, box 38 vol. 75 #408, 445; box 37 vol. 71 #394, 399; box 38 vol. 74 #284.

96. Ibid., box 36 vol. 69 #94; box 38 vol. 74 #496; vol. 75 #156.

97. Ibid., box 36 vol. 68 #467, 468, 469.

98. Ibid., #278.

99. Ibid., box 37 vol. 70 #89.

100. Ibid., box 36 vol. 68 #17, 316, 385; vol. 67 #130; box 38 vol. 74 #490.

101. Ibid., vol. 73 #60.

102. Ibid., #379; vol. 74 #169.

103. Ibid., box 36 vol. 68 #305.

104. Ibid., box 38 vol. 74 #116.

105. Ibid., box 37 vol. 70 #8; box 41 vol. 82 #396.

106. Ibid., box 37 vol. 70 #19; box 41 vol. 84 #375, 377.

107. Ibid., box 36 vol. 69 #457; vol. 68 #408, 417.

108. Kansas City Star, 2 May 1918, page 1.

109. Joan M. Jensen, The Price of Vigilance, Chicago and New York: Rand McNally & Co., 1968, page 164.

110. William B. Glidden, "Internment Camps in America, 1917-20," Military Life vol. 37(4), 1973, page 137.

111. Jensen, page 164.

112. Glidden, page 141.

113. Jensen, page 165.

114. Luebke, page 279.

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117. Ibid., page 3.

118. Pankratz, page 286.

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126. Ibid., page 237.

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128. J. Neale Carman, "Germans in Kansas," The American-German Review, April-May 1961, page 8.

129. Ellis, page 459.

130. Nelson, page 26.

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132. Ibid., box 41 vol. 82 #122.

133. Jensen, page 160.

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SYMPHONIC ORCHESTRAS IN KANSAS CITY

AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

A Historical Perspective

by Julie Metzler

In the 1880s, Kansas City, Missouri, was a rapidly expanding boom town. As the city grew in population and industry, so grew the scope of the interests of its citizens. As men such as William Rockhill Nelson, Kersey Coates and Thomas Swope were conducting their business and civic enterprises, men and women were arriving in Kansas City intent on broadening its cultural life. In 1895, two symphonic orchestras were organized in Kansas City. These orchestras did not materialize in a vacuum and theirs weren't the final or best efforts of their kind in the city's history, but they were the natural outgrowth of the endeavors of many different groups of people, and they provided the foundation for the Kansas City Philharmonic Orchestra as Kansas Citians enjoy it today.

The two men who founded these orchestras, Carl Busch of the Kansas City Philharmonic and John Behr of the Kansas City Symphony, owed a measure of the success they enjoyed to the individuals who kept music alive during the city's earliest years. "Probably the major share of early musical activity is traceable to the labor of Professor H. E. Shultze (every musician of prominence was a professor then) who came to Kansas City from Louisville in 1869. He had three pupils at first and from this grew a school of piano study at the N.W. corner of 12th and Main . . . ."[1] The professor "sent out young teachers to Holden, Pleasant Hill, Butler, Trenton and other Missouri towns and Fort Scott, Dodge City, Topeka, Florence and Paola in Kansas."[2] These students weren't only taught to make music, but also how to teach what they knew to others. This was the beginning of a trend that grew and gained emphasis as the century drew to a close. Many musicians and teachers and the "enlightened" public looked to music as a valuable part of a student's general education and socialization.

Originally the Shultze school taught only piano, but gradually teachers of the other branches were added and the student body was enlarged. In Kansas City in the early 1880s ". . . piano and voice were the popular subjects . . . also guitar and zither still were admitted in even the best musical circles."[3] Probably the most important feature of the music life of the early 1880s was the fact "that whatever music there was in the home was the product of human beings rather than of machines."[4] The most popular music of the day was piano or organ accompaniment to hymns and sentimental ballads.

Although much of the musical life of Kansas City in the 1880s involved small ensembles in the home or private lessons for one's own personal satisfaction, it was also a decade that brought a broadened view of the concept of music for the general public. "Men of means and influence were willing to entertain the idea [of cultural growth], though it seemed almost a dream at that time when the city was in the rough, when the winning of fortunes, not their spending was engaging the attention and employing the energies of the men who best appreciated the value of artistic culture."[5]

It was in 1887 when "two girls from Joplin, Missouri, who believed they could make a success of a music school"[6] arrived in Kansas City. Theirs was the first attempt at organizing a conservatory of music. The school folded after about a year because the women who organized it had no experience in the operation of a school. It has also been suggested, however, that in 1887 Kansas City was not ready for a music school for advanced study. "Several other attempts were made to start music schools [in Kansas City] but none was successful before the Kansas City Conservatory of Music and Art which was chartered January 1, 1907."[7]

Many of the organizations in Kansas City today that figure largely in its cultural life had tenuous beginnings, and may give some credit for their current stability to other organizations and individuals long forgotten. Just as the conservatory passed through various stages of development, so, too, the philharmonic orchestra went through a period of experimentation and endured less than whole-hearted public support.

In the early 1880s, "John Behr, former member of the violin section of the Boston Symphony came to Kansas City as Director of Music (for the orchestra of) the Grand Opera House."[8] At the time there was not an over-abundance of qualified musicians in the city, and a musician might perform for different orchestras on different occasions. In fact, there was active recruitment of musicians as is evidenced by this advertisement which appeared in a program of the Kansas City Philharmonic Choral Society:

> Persons of musical ability
> and experience are requested to
> make themselves known to the
> officers of this Society with a
> view of becoming active members.[9]

Therefore, it is not unusual that John Behr performed as first violinist with the one-hundred voice Philharmonic Choral Society, directed by W. H. Lieb.[10] It would not be out-of-line to speculate that Behr, who later organized and directed the Kansas City Symphony, was present as a performer with the Philharmonic Choral Society when Lieb introduced as newcomers to Kansas City Carl Busch and the Gade String Quartet.[11]

Busch, who in 1895 organized and directed the Kansas City Philharmonic Orchestra, arrived in Kansas City as the viola player with the Gade String Quartet. Busch, born in Denmark in 1862, gave up the study of law to concentrate on music. He studied violin, piano, harmony and music theory in Copenhagen for three years. Then in 1886, he traveled to Paris where he studied and performed with Benjamin Godard, Anton Rubenstein, Camille Saint-Saens and Charles Gounod. Back in Copenhagen in 1887 "he accepted the invitation of Thyge Sogaard, Danish vice-consul in Kansas City to organize a string quartet" and come to Kansas City.[12]

The Gade String Quartet, named for Busch's teacher in Copenhagen, met with little response from audiences in Kansas City, and the group disbanded. Busch was the only member to remain in Kansas City and succeeded Lieb as director of the Kansas City Philharmonic Choral Society with Lieb's support.[13] Busch became quite active in Kansas City. He directed a chorus of "young men about town known as the Apollo Club,"[14] and "with his violin class as a beginning, he organized a forty-member children's orchestra."[15] "Since there was little music available, he wrote the arrangements and copied the parts for juvenile musicians. In 1891, this group formed the nucleus of the Kansas City Philharmonic Orchestra which rehearsed and performed during the 1891-1892 season."[16] This organization formed "at a meeting at 1123 Main street, November 2, 1891, . . . folded about a year later when it failed to rally enough box office interest in the city of 132,000 to keep it going . . . ."[17]

Kansas Citians' response to this first attempt at instituting an orchestra to perform a classical repertoire was typical of the day. Those were the "boom or bust" '80s and the "gay '90s." A Kansas City Star report described the era this way. "Musicians who love nothing but the classics find audiences becoming smaller. Mr. Busch hears what he has been loath to believe, there's no money in that sort of music. Come, get your band together and play something gayer; tunes we can dance to. We'll pay the fiddler for that."[18]

In 1895, Mr. Busch organized a new orchestra which performed at the Academy of Music on McGee Street.[19] This Kansas City Philharmonic advertised in the newspapers that their programs were "pop" concerts performed at popular prices. Hear the orchestra spin a "mystical web of delightful harmony . . . . Everybody who loves Good Music, Popular Music, Bright Music should be there--Popular Prices."[20]

In 1895, John Behr organized an orchestra, too, and his orchestra, like Busch's, evolved from his other efforts. Behr, the violinist from Boston, was "active as a theatre musician."[21] He also "selected a group of string players from the various theatre orchestras to form the Kansas City Beethoven Club (1891-1894) which gave concerts in Carl Hoffman Hall, 1014 Walnut."[22] This group, which on a program from December 14, 1894, was shown to include a full complement of strings as well as oboes, flutes, clarinets, cornets, trombones and tympani, was the foundation of the Kansas City Symphony which Behr organized in 1895.[23]

In September, 1895, The Baton, a "monthly journal devoted to western music matters," printed this report, "The Beethoven Orchestral Club, for the successful maintenance of which John Behr has labored so earnestly and unselfishly, is this season to receive substantial support through the interest of several gentlemen who have formed themselves into an executive body to manage a series of concerts . . . ."[24] Thus was born the Kansas City Symphony.

Why did the two men who most certainly knew each other, form independent orchestras rather than cooperate in forming one? After all, they shared musicians on many occasions. On the Kansas City Symphony program of April 30, 1897, the list of orchestra members contains the names of at least twenty musicians who had performed at one time or another with the Philharmonic.[25] Was there a sense of competition between the directors? They performed in competing theatres. In 1896, the Philharmonic moved from the Academy of Music to the Coates Opera House, called by some "the finest theatre from the Mississippi to the Pacific."[26] Behr's orchestra, which had performed in the Coates the first season, moved to the Grand Theatre. "In 1896 the Grand's chief competition, the Coates Opera House, became one of the first thirty-three theatres in America to join the Klaw-Erlanger Syndicate, but the Grand held out."[27] Although there may have been a sense of competition between the two groups, there must have been no animosity, at least at the beginning. On April 4, 1896, the guest performer of the Kansas City Symphony was Carl Busch conducting his own Prologue to The Passing of Arthur.[28]

The basic difference between Carl Busch and John Behr as orchestra directors seems to have been their perception of the orchestra's responsibility to its audience. The Philharmonic advertised a popular appeal, and although their

repertoire was heavily classical, they did feature soloists singing popular music. The program notes for the Philharmonic are no shorter than those modern audiences expect, yet compared to Behr's they seem brief, indeed. The Kansas City Symphony played less popular music, and their program notes were extensive and assumed some musical and historical knowledge on the part of the concert goer. Behr assumed his audience had some musical background, for example, when he compared the overture of The Merry Wives of Windsor to the light overtures of Rossini; and when he alluded briefly to Napoleon, he assumed they knew a little of the history of Beethoven's Eroica Symphony. When the orchestra performed the Hungarian folk song, "Rakoczy March," Behr noted, "This march, though best known of all Hungarian airs is liable to be confounded with others bearing the same name."[29] He then went into the Hungarian military history that explained the many patriotic marches of the same name. These were attempts to increase the pleasure of the performance by giving more information either as background or by way of explanation of the movements of a work.

January 31, 1897, was the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Franz Schubert. Both orchestras held all-Schubert concerts in commemoration of the day, the Symphony on Friday, January 29, at 4:00; the Philharmonic on Sunday, January 31, at 3:00. The programs were similar:

Symphony Program	Philharmonic Program
Symphony No. 10 in C Major	Symphony No. 5
"Staendchen"	Overture "Rosamunde"
"Die Kraeh"	Andante from "String Quartet in A Minor"
"Ave Maria"	"Staendchen"
"March Militaire"	"March Militaire" Op 51 No. 1
Overture "Rosamunde"[30]	"March Militaire" Op 51 No. 2[31]

The difference was in the few notes on the Philharmonic program compared to the lengthy notes on the Symphony's program.

Ever-present on the programs from both orchestras were the advertisements--some from a general merchandise store and a few for modern remedies for various ailments, but most were ads geared to a concert-going crowd. There were ads for "Mrs. Carl Busch-Pianist and Teacher; J. A. Quigly, music publisher; Steinway piano, with a testimonial by Paderewski; the Kansas City School of Oratory; china painting lessons; and for any crowd, Anheuser Busch Brewing Assn. One program advertised pianist/composer Paderewski's up-coming concert at Convention Hall. For the most part, the advertisements seemed to have appealed to the music lovers, to a select group rather than a general audience. These advertisers seemed to hold Behr's view that the crowd was sophisticated enough in this regard to take an interest in their products or services.

Carl Busch and John Behr worked to keep their respective orchestras and activities before the public. They did this with publicity from the newspapers, through innovative programming, featuring guest artists, cooperation with the schools and an attempt to involve the public with the orchestra in an active way.

In 1899, the Kansas City Symphony brought Belgian cellist, Flavie van den Hende to Kansas City to perform with its orchestra. The Kansas City Star reported,

"The bringing of soloists from other cities is a new departure, but it seems to meet with general approval. At any rate the subscription list is one of the best the orchestra has known."[32]

Despite the "indifferent" rail service which made the life of the traveling artist "strenuous" and high railroad fares and general expenses,[33] the orchestras continued to bring in artists, and most often these guests were received warmly, even when the local performers were not. When Miss Mary Muschoff was guest soprano with the Kansas City Symphony, she was found to have an admirable voice; but the critic detected "noticeable deficiency in the horns. This was marked in the overture and in the last part of the symphony [Raff's Im Walde]. As played yesterday the orchestra would have been quite as well off without these instruments. They are valuable to the organization, but only when in the hands of artists."[34] When Madame Melba appeared at Convention Hall, a critic for the Kansas City Times complained, "Enjoyment was enhanced, no doubt, by the fact that there had been few musical events of interest this season and none of the first magnitude."[35]

Every year at the season's end, the Kansas City Philharmonic presented an all-Busch concert. The third such concert, presented in the Coates Opera House, was the first full symphony by a Kansas Citian and was directed by the composer. In 1914, Sir Carl,* who was by this time Kansas City's Grand Old Man of Music, told the Kansas City Journal his definition of a symphony.

> The symphony is the highest type of musical expression. It is no more lofty than a symphonic poem or cradle song, but more complete. It is a little like an essay or a philosophical expression only it is more beautiful than either. Take for instance Beethoven's Symphony of the Dance. Many people declare it is not a symphony at all, but no truer symphony was ever written. It is in four movements like all symphonys (sic) and the first one takes the idea of movement-painting it in the most intricate measures. But always it is an abstract idea of grace, of movement considered mentally.[36]

Both Busch and John Behr tried to involve the public in the affairs of the orchestra. Busch, for example, for the tenth concert of the Philharmonic's second season, had an audience selected program based on the public's balloting for all the pieces of the previous nine concerts.[37] However, Behr, particularly, sought to bring his orchestra into service to the community. This was the era when the ills of industrialization and urban sprawl first preoccupied the thoughts of progressive individuals; the time of the settlement houses and the press for legislation to correct the abuses. "Progressive education, with music as part of the school program was generally accepted as a means of using the schools to assist with social reform."[38]

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*In 1912, Busch was knighted by the king of Norway for introducing American audiences to the works of Edward Grieg.

On the Tuesday prior to the Symphony's Friday concerts, Behr and his orchestra performed the identical concert in a dress rehearsal before the students of Central High School in the school's auditorium. He presented printed programs complete with program notes and advertising designed to appeal to the students. On the programs, Behr urged the students to keep their programs as souvenirs of the school year.[39]

On the student program from the Schubert anniversary concert, Behr advertised an up-coming all-Wagner concert. "The directors are desirous that all students be given an opportunity to attend, and have, therefore, made arrangements with the Glee Club, who will take charge of the sale of tickets for high school students and their families."[40]

The all-Wagner concert was held on February 13, 1897; the fourteenth anniversary of Richard Wagner's death. There was a 50 cent general admission charged. The program included an approximately 800 word biography of the composer from the Century Dictionary and the notice, "the net proceeds will go to the musicians of the orchestra as a testimonial to their loyalty to the work of the association."[41] Despite this effort, in 1906, when Behr was no longer a part of Kansas City's music society, Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony Orchestra performed in Kanaaa City and the music critic for a local paper wrote, "The Prelude to Lohengrin was splendidly given and considering that Damrosch was probably the first director to familiarize Kansas Citians with much of Wagner's music, it was more than enjoyable."[42]

There seemed to have been some importance put on familiarizing concert audiences with Wagner's work, Possibly not merely acquainting audiences with it but gaining their acceptance as well. There seems to have been some bias to overcome as is evidenced by this verse which appeared in a Kansas City publication in 1895:

Directions for Composing a Wagner
Overture
by Anti-Wagnerite

A sharp where you'd expect a natural
A natural where you'd expect a sharp;
No rule observe but the exceptional,
And then (first happy thought) bring in a
HARP!

No bar but a sequence to the bar behind,
No bar a prelude to to next that comes;
Which follows which, you really needn't mind;
But (second happy thought) bring in your
DRUMS!

For harmonies, let wildest discords pass;
Let key be blent with key in hideous hash;
Then (for last happy thought) bring in your
BRASS!

And clang, clash, catter;
Clatter, clang and clash![43]

After the 1901-1902 season, the Kansas City Philharmonic disbanded citing a waning public interest. John Behr and the Kansas City Symphony continued to perform until the close of the 1904-1905 season. On March 23, 1905, the Kansas City Star reported,

> John Behr, conductor of the symphony orchestra, announced today that he would end his connection with the organization after the concert next Sunday. He organized the orchestra nine years ago and said today that he could not continue because of the time and responsibility required by the job. He said he would be glad to act in any advisory capacity in the future.[44]

Two years later, on September 20, 1907, the Star reported,

> The directors of the Kansas City Symphony disbanded the organization at a meeting yesterday . . . . The Orchestra was organized in 1896 (sic) with John Behr as director. He resigned in 1905 and since that time the organization has had a varied form of existence.[45]

What became of the two men who for nearly two decades had been so much a part of the musical life of Kansas City? Louis J. Klein, interviewed by the Kansas City Star in 1963 about his life as a musician in Kansas City at the turn of the century, had been a violinist with Behr's symphony. He told the reporter, "One of the things that mystified us in those early days was the disappearance of John Behr in 1907. We heard that there had been some sort of family trouble. But as far as I know, no one ever heard of him again."[46] A week later, a woman's response to this article appeared in the Star.

> I am the last person who saw or spoke to John Behr when he left Kansas City [explained Mrs. Tessa Gray Jackson]. He lived at the Columbian Hotel at Ninth and Holmes and so did I, although I knew him only casually. He and his wife had separated,* whether divorced or not I do not know. He was a lonely, broken old man who kept to himself and seemed to have no friends.
>
> One morning I walked with him downtown. I was on my way to work and he said he was going to the Union Station which was on the West Bottoms. As we separated, I was dumfounded when he asked me if I would kiss him goodby, as he was leaving Kansas City. It was about 8:00 in the morning and broad daylight, but I felt so sorry for him I gave him a kiss and wished him a pleasant journey.[47]

That was the time in Kansas City when both Behr and Busch were lost to its musical life. In March 1906 Carl Busch, who had traveled to Europe sent this letter to the Kansas City Journal which they published on April 2, "That Berlin

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*Behr's wife, Ella Backus Behr, was also a well-known musician in Kansas City.

is a sort of Klondike for American teachers is shown by the many that have recently located here . . . . About my return to good old Kansas City, a town to which I am tied by many good and loyal friends, a town in which I have--in my earlier days--so many trials and had so many disappointments, I hardly know what to say. Berlin is holding out a tempting hand to me."[48]

Donald R. Lowe, a Busch biographer, wrote that "one of the disappointments to which Busch was referring was Kansas City's failure to support a permanent orchestra . . . ."[49] Busch's letter to the Journal may have been a straightforward correspondence or it may have been a ploy. Whichever, he must have been pleased "when a group of Kansas City music leaders and businessmen began making plans to secure the financial assistance which would enable Busch to reorganize his Philharmonic Orchestra. Encouraged by the prospects for a new orchestra and by the loyalty of his friends, he departed Europe for Kansas City on July 12, 1906."[50]

Where was Kansas City's loyalty to John Behr? When music leaders and businessmen were scurrying about to insure Carl Busch's return, Behr was in Kansas City. Why did these men choose to court Busch long distance while ignoring Behr's presence here? What had Behr done to alienate or at least lose the support of those backers who had given him the help he needed to organize the symphony in the first place? Or was there something about Busch which drew supporters to him? Busch had a courtly, old world appearance and most probably spoke with a European accent. Part of Busch's appeal might have been due to Americans' infatuation with Europe. Whatever the reason, in 1906 Carl Busch returned to Kansas City and remained there until his death in 1943. John Behr left Kansas City in 1907, shrouded in mystery, never to return.

Although those desiring a new Kansas City orchestra were persistent in their efforts, this goal was not fully realized until 1911."[51] This new orchestra's existence ended with the beginning of World War I. After that Busch continued to compose and when the current philharmonic was organized in 1933, Busch was honored with a cast likeness of himself placed in the concert hall. His compositions were performed as a tribute to the maestro who had been a vital and constant force for music in Kansas City.

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KANSAS

AND

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

by Missy Nachbar

"Hurrah for America" was the cry of many patriotic Kansans on April 25, 1898.[1] On this day the President of the Unites States, William McKinley, announced that the U.S. had declared war with Spain as of the twenty-first day of April 1898.[2] The citizens of Kansas were eager to find out the latest news of the war, as everyone shouted and cheered on the streets of Olathe.[3] The American intervention into the Spanish-Cuban crisis had been proven favorable to the citizens of America, especially to the Kansans.

Before the onset of the actual war battles, we must take into account the crisis in Cuba, and the reasons for the American involvement. First, there had been a revolt in Cuba by the Cubans against Spanish rule. The Cubans simply (or rather not so simply as it turned out), wanted their independence. Because their struggle against oppression was seen as similar to that of the American's earlier struggle for freedom from Great Britain, the citizens of America sympathized with the Cubans.[4]

Another factor influencing Americans was the numerous newspaper articles about the reconcentration camps in Cuba. In January of 1896, Spain sent General Valerino Weyler to Cuba to deal harshly with the rebels.[5] Weyler's Reconcentration System was overcrowded and undersupplied. Men, women, and children were suffering from hunger and disease, and were dying by the thousands.[6] These Reconcentration Camps were played up by American newspapers, including Randolph Hearst's Journal and Joseph Pulitzer's World. These two newspapers, especially, were in competition for bloodthirsty news of Cuba. They soon helped develop the public opinion of General Weyler, giving him a new title of "Butcher" Weyler.[7] Politicians of this time went along with the general public opinion, and others saw this crisis as a chance to gain outposts and naval bases that would lead to a bigger role for the U.S. in world power and politics.[8]

Although these factors were involved in the American involvement in the Cuban crisis, it wasn't until Dupuy de Lome, a Spanish Minister, wrote an insulting letter, and the sinking of the Maine, that America began to take a firm stand. The Dupuy de Lome letter was sent to a friend in Cuba where it had been stolen.[9] The letter was sent to President McKinley, and was then published in the New York Journal, February 9, 1898.[10] This letter insulted both McKinley and the whole nation. This was a major upset for America, but it was on February 15, 1898, that the U.S. was taken to the limit. It was on this day that 260 U.S. seamen and marines were blown up on the Maine, a U.S. naval ship that had been sent to the Havana Harbor in Cuba on a "friendly" visit.[11] After this explosion the U.S. sent Spain an ultimatum that they should get rid of their reconcentration camps, and allow the U.S. to act as a arbitrator between the rebels and Spain.[12] Spain seemed willing to agree, but they delayed their agreement. This delay was too much for the U.S., and right away sessions began in both houses of Congress. On April 19, 1898, a Cuban resolution was passed by both houses which stated, "Cuban people are, and of right ought to be free and independent."[13] It was the next day that Spain received this ultimatum, while the President was calling for soldiers.[14] Two thousand men were to be placed at the President's disposal, and the first to be called upon would include the National Guard.[15]

The call for soldiers proved to be a wise move. On April 25, 1898, the U.S. declared war. With this, a whirlwind of excitement ran through the streets of Kansas. Guns were fired and flags fluttered. The April 28, 1898, issue of the Olathe Mirror printed, "Nothing like this has ever been seen in Olathe."[16] In less than five minutes the news of the war was out, every flag pole in the town had Old Glory floating from it.[17] Old soldiers were saying, "Do you think they would take me? If they will, I am ready to go."[18] The response to the war brought excitement and enthusiasm to everyone. Citizens of America were willing and eager to show off their patriotism.

The war continued on for a few months. Local newspapers in Kansas contained articles about the battles during the war, but never really seemed to express the general public feelings. The war was seldom front page news in the Olathe Mirror and Olathe Register, but they did have accounts of losses of the American lives.

Peace talks were begun on August 12, 1898, and on December 10, 1898, an official Peace Treaty was signed in Paris.[19] This agreement freed Cuba, and the U.S. was ceded the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico.[20] Both sides seem to agree, but some Filipinos, deciding that they might not like U.S. control better than Spanish, began a new insurrection.[21] It was Emilio Aquinaldo and his followers that did not agree. On February 4, 1899, these insurrectionists began their revolt.[22] Aquinaldo had troops numbering 30,000-40,000, some even say as high as 80,000. American forces at this time numbered only 12,000-14,000 troops.[23] Right away the U.S. called for 40,000 additional troops that were to be "effective for the field."[24] These positions were slow to be filled, and what was received was two dozen volunteer regiments, with two of them all black.[25] Of these volunteer groups a regiment of Kansas, the Twentieth Kansans, became famous during several battles to come.

On February 4, 1899, a shot was fired, but it is still unsure which side it came from. The U.S. came full force upon the insurgents, who only fought with a few arms and ammunition. The battle lasted for two days, and in no way was it a contest. The U.S. sent the insurrectors running for the hills, with casualties numbering 3,000, to only 250 U.S. casualties.[26] At this time the insurrectors then resorted to guerilla warfare with sneak attacks and ambushes along jungle trails. This type of warfare was beginning to destroy the American troops, except for the scout and Indian fighters who had learned that this art of survival in guerilla warfare depended on speed, daring, cunning, surprise, and above all, self-reliance and individual initiative to the point of recklessness.[27] The Twentieth Kansas were among these troops who could handle themselves, and proved this true several times. The February 16, 1899, issue of the Olathe Mirror printed an article on "The Twentieth Kansas in Battle." It stated that a battalion and three companies charged into the canebrake on a scouting detail at Caloocon. They were attacked in the jungle and suffered the loss of their commander and several others.[28] Two companies of the Twentieth Kansas was nearby. They hurried and saved the skirmish line.[29] They brought off the wounded, and then General Fredrick Funston, the leader of the Twentieth Kansas, led his troops to charge and drive the enemy back. This act was promptly done and in the best manner of the American.[30]

Another famous act done by the Twentieth Kansas was for General MacArthur. They served as the "point" of a spearhead for MacArthur's division.[31] The Twentieth Kansas came to a bridge over the Bagbag River that was partly destroyed, enough so to allow no passage across. General Funston and ten volunteers seized the bridge, dove into the Bagbag, and swam to the enemy side. They charged the entrenchments, and then waved the rest of the men over. They moved onto the Rio Grande River, which had absolutely no passage across the river. Two men, William Trembly and Edward White of the Twentieth Kansas, swam a rope across the river under heavy fire, so the other men could pull themselves over on a raft.[32] These men won the Congressional Award of Honor for their act of bravery and heroism.[33]

The people of Kansas were more than proud of their Fighting Twentieth. They couldn't understand how any American could criticize the President or soldier boys who were defending their country's flag and honor.[34] On October 13, 1899, the Twentieth Kansas had reached San Francisco on the Tartar for their way home.[35] Upon their arrival at San Francisco the people cheered and paraded around. Governor Stanley of Kansas had come to San Francisco to welcome home the Twentieth Kansas.[36] Some of the men were made to stay on the Tartar because of sickness and disease, while others hurried to their homeland. Trying to get first hand news, Will Snow, son of Chancellor Snow from the University of Kansas, was knocked from a boat and drowned. He was out on a launch with reporters, and as he stood up in the boat trying to catch news correspondence from the Tartar, rough waves threw him overboard.[37]

In San Francisco the soldiers received their pay. The average soldier received between $170.00-$200.00, and an officer would receive somewhere around $300.00.[38] The people in San Francisco were both pleased and excited over the arrival of the Twentieth Kansas. When it was time for them to go, ladies began to smother the men with kisses as tears flowed down their cheeks.[39]

The Twentieth Kansas left San Francisco in four trains, each departing at different times.[40] Back in Kansas the streets of every town bore the colors of the flag. Upon the arrival of the first train in Topeka, it was as if the whole state was present to cheer and welcome the Twentieth Kansas home.[41] There were parents, friends, and relatives present to meet every soldier with open arms and tears of joy. The University of Kansas Band played the traditional American songs along with "Rock, Chalk, Jayhawk . . ." in helping to add excitement to the festivities. People were wearing "Funston Hats" in admiration of General Funston's leadership.[42] There was overall enthusiasm and patriotism among every citizen of Kansas.

There was excitement when General Funston stepped off the train. Almost immediately he was hoisted into the air and praised with cheers. He was granted a $1,000.00 sword for his services.[43] People also raised their voices as privates William Trembly and Edward White appeared. They looked every inch of a hero, yet claimed their swim was only a part of their duty.[44]

In the surrounding towns people were getting ready for their own welcome home celebrations for their native soldiers. Rush County planned to give their men

a hearty welcome.[45] Gardner City, which gave the most soldiers, planned a big dance in their honor.[46] The town of Olathe had a big parade, a reception at their opera house, and a dinner at the Cottage Hotel.[47]

TIME LINE*

1897

March 20--McKinley elected to Presidency.

1898

January 25--"Maine" arrives at Havana Harbor.
February 15--"Maine" blown up.
April 25--U.S. declares war as of April 21.
August 12--Preliminary Peace Talks.
October 27--Twentieth Kansas embark to Manila.
December 10--Official signing of Peace Treaty.

1899

February 4--Philippine insurrection begins.
October 13--Twentieth Kansas land at San Francisco.
November 2--Twentieth Kansas are home in Topeka.

1901

March 23--Emilio Aquinaldo captured by General Funston.
September 14--President McKinley assassinated.

1902

Insurrection officially ended.

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THE DEVELOPING YEARS OF EMMANUEL BAPTIST CHURCH

by Debra Jean Prohaska

Southern Baptist Churches were not new in Kansas, having supported Reverend Isaac McCoy, a Baptist preacher and teacher, and his work at the Shawnee mission in Johnson County, which opened on July 7, 1831.[1] After the Civil War, a line was drawn by the Northern Baptist between Kansas and Missouri, keeping Kansas as their domain to begin churches and leaving Missouri for the Southern Baptists. The Southern Baptist set up many churches in Missouri, including Broadway Baptist from whence Pastor Elledge, first pastor at Emmanuel, came. In the 1940s, the first Southern Baptists came up from Oklahoma, as Pastor Combs, second pastor at Emmanuel, pointed out. They started churches in Russell and Salina and were affiliated with the Baptist Association in Oklahoma. The first church in Kansas City was First Southern Baptist Church in Kansas City, Kansas, organized in 1953. Then Nall Avenue Baptist Church and Leawood Baptist Church were formed in 1953 and 1958, serving the Northeast section of Johnson County. Nall Avenue Baptist went on to sponsor Calvary Baptist Church, organized in 1960 and Leawood Baptist went on to sponsor Emmanuel Baptist Church, organized in 1964.[1.1]

Emmanuel Baptist Church was the only Southern Baptist Church established in Overland Park in the 1960s. The reasons for this are three. First, the population in Overland Park had grown from around 1,000 in 1950[2] to 28,085 1960, at which time Overland Park incorporated as a city.[3] Second, the closest Southern Baptist Church in Johnson County in 1963 when Emmanuel began as a mission was Leawood Baptist, about five miles away. Third, Southern Baptist churches had only begun developing their work in Kansas in the 1940s, and they spread into Johnson County in the 1950s and 1960s. During the same decade as Emmanuel, Calvary Baptist Church organized in 1960 to reach another section of Johnson County, Lenexa, in order to reach the southern end of the county. Atonement Lutheran Church was organized in 1962 in Overland Park for one of the reasons Emmanuel did--the population increase in Overland Park--and in addition, to form a Lutheran Church two to three miles away from one previously established (as is the custom in the Lutheran Church). As the population in Overland Park and in Johnson County continued to grow, so have Emmanuel and Atonement. Calvary has grown too, but at a much slower pace than the other two. As a result of talking to the three former pastors of Emmanuel and researching church documents, I have been able to trace how the population growth in Overland Park and Johnson County has caused the number of members and the Sunday School enrollment, the location and building of the church and the area served by Emmanuel to grow and expand during the 1963 to 1984 period.

The population in Johnson County in 1960 was 143,792, more than double its figure of 62,783 in 1950.[4] In 1948, people began moving to the newly developed suburbs, including Overland Park. To meet the need for church homes for the large number of residents, many denominations began meeting in homes, schools, auditoriums, or even art galleries.[5] This is where Emmanuel began--first, as a home fellowship, then eventually moving to the French Market Art Gallery and two schools before settling into its present building. Reverend Paul Elledge, at that time serving as Superintendent of Missions for the Kansas City Kansas Baptist Association, had moved to Overland Park with his family in 1962. Amy Ruth Elledge wrote, "The Lord led to one [a house] much farther south in Johnson County than he [Paul Elledge] had planned to move. It was soon evident, however, that the Lord had a purpose in this move. He set the Superintendent of Missions right down in the middle of a strategic location for a

new Southern Baptist Church."[6] So, with Leawood Baptist as their sponsor and with the approval of the Association's mission committee, a home fellowship began on March 14, 1963.[7] Weekly prayer meetings were held through May, while Reverend Elledge frantically searched for a place to hold Sunday services. During the summer of 1963, there were only two "report meetings" as the group prepared to move into the French Market Art Gallery, located in the south tower of what is now K-Mart at 95th and Metcalf, which was being offered free of charge. Sunday morning, October 1, 1963, was Emmanuel's first Sunday service at the French Market Southern Baptist Chapel.[8] Pastor Elledge and Pastor Combs have both remarked that they had to turn some of the pictures to the wall in order to hold a Christian worship service. Fifty-two people from twenty-three families signed up with the Chapel that first Sunday.[9]

This number would continue to grow and on March 1, 1964, Emmanuel Baptist Church was organized with 88 charter members. The area Emmanuel served at this time was almost exclusively Overland Park with only three of the 88 charter members coming from Lenexa, and these three constituted one family.[10] The church adopted its constitution and bylaws and voted to affiliate with the Kansas Convention of Southern Baptist, the Kansas City Kansas Baptist Association, and the Southern Baptist Convention. That summer Pastor Elledge stepped down as pastor and the first change in pastors occurred. Reverend Ken Combs, who was pastoring a growing church in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, was contacted by Bert Clampitt, a local deacon. He came to Emmanuel on August 1, 1964.[11] While looking for land on which to build, the church moved to two schools, John Diemer in January 1965 and Pawnee in August 1965. The agenda on Sunday morning during this time was Sunday School at 8:45 and 11:00, with worship service at 10:00. Meantime, Pastor Combs' home in Overland Park was used as the church office and as a meeting place for the youth and for choir practice. The 7½ acre site on which the church was built was the first property to be sold on the west side of Metcalf, according to Pastor Combs, and was previously a dairy farm. He said they chose this particular plot of land because it was on a main thoroughfare, was high and could be seen from a distance, and was in a residential zone. The first unit was financed by the Texas Baptist Foundation and through selling bonds to the Boiler Maker's Union.[12] The building was dedicated in Febuary 1967 and included the sanctuary, which accommodated about 450 people, and one floor of educational space.

The population in Overland Park went from 28,085 in 1960 to 79,034 in 1970, an increase of about 180% while, at the same time, Johnson County grew to 220,073 in 1970, an increase of about 53% over 1960.[13] Emmanual grew from its resident membership of 88 in 1960 to 472 in 1970, an increase of over 400%.[14] This required an addition to their present building. On March 1, 1970, the second unit was dedicated and it included 21 classrooms on two floors and three offices for the Pastor and Sunday School. Emmanuel celebrated its 10th Anniversary on March 3, 1974. Resident members in 1974 totaled 640 and Sunday School enrollment had reached 754.[15] The area the church served had broadened to encompass not only Overland Park and Lenexa, but also Kansas City, Kansas, Olathe, Shawnee, Stilwell and Leawood, plus a few from Stanley, Spring Hill, Merriam, Kansas City, Missouri, and Mission.[16] In 1978, it was Emmanuel's turn to sponsor a mission church. A group of people living in Blue Valley and Stanley were interested in establishing a church, and Pastor Combs helped them get started; Blue Valley Baptist Church was organized in Stanley, Kansas.

According to Pastor Combs, they started with a weekday bible study in their homes, and went on to meet in a bank building where they held Sunday morning worship service and Sunday School. Blue Valley Baptist just dedicated their building this year and have a current membership of 130.[17]

Pastor Combs resigned from his position at Emmanuel in September 1978, and Ross Edwards served as interim pastor. Then on November 15, 1979, Dr. Walt Lacey came in response to a call to Emmanuel. He was formerly pastor of a church in California which was not growing. He said the active participation of the members fluctuated directly with the calling of pastors, which at that time totalled 13 in 25 years. Dr. Lacey came to Emmanuel because he saw it as "a place to grow." He was right. A wall in the Northwest corner of the sanctuary was removed to increase its capacity by 40 to 45 people. In October 1980 the church went to two worship services, at 8:30 and 11:00 with Sunday School in between at 9:45, evidence of the growing need for worship service space.[18] In 1981, more growing pains brought about the beginning of Together We Build, a three-year program to finance the third unit of the building. The first two units had been financed by Texas Foundation and money was still owed to them, so the goal of Together We Build was to build according to how much money was raised through pledges by the members, as Dr. Lacey pointed out. Rick Ezell accepted the call as full-time Minister of Youth, and on September 13, 1981, the Chinese Ministry started with a concern for the Chinese in Overland Park in mind. Dr. Lacey, along with four Chinese families, started a Sunday School class in Chinese.[19] Translation of the worship service in Chinese during the 11:00 hour was relayed through the public address system while the attenders listened with earphones to hear the Gospel. In the spring of 1982, the class divided in two, and four more families joined the church--proving the need for this special ministry and its programs which include weekly prayer meetings, Sunday luncheon at the church, and a monthly family fellowship hour. Sam Patty accepted the call as full-time Minister of Music. In October, the church went to a double Sunday School with Sunday School and worship service both at 9:30 and at 11:00, going on simultaneously. This was because of inadequate space for classes, a problem slated to be solved when the third unit was built.

On July 1, 1983, groundbreaking for the new education-administration building took place. The long-awaited third unit would be two-story with a drive-up entrance and an elevator for easy access to the second floor of the entire building. It would contain 19 classrooms with potential for five more with use of dividers, an office area with a reception room, a small conference room, a media center, and equipment and storage rooms.[20] The first and second units were to be upgraded at the same time. The sanctuary was outfitted with a new sound and lighting system, and the choir risers and modesty rail were made removable for stage presentations. The kitchen was completely remodeled with new stainless steel equipment including a stove, two ovens, two refrigerators, one freezer and an island with chopping board and utensil drawers. A stage on the north end of the fellowhip hall was removed as it was too narrow. New outside doors were installed, along with a combination public address-telephone system throughout the church. Dr. Denny Williams accepted the call as Educational and Administration Minister in November 1983. The third unit and improvements to the first and second units were finished in time for Emmanuel's 20th Anniversary Celebration and Dedication on April 1, 1984. Membership at this point totalled 1,037, with a Sunday School enrollment of 921.[21] The area

served now reaches out to and includes Prairie Village, Belton, Bucyrus and Grandview.[22] These changes in area can be attributed to the programs offered by Emmanuel, including its Chinese Ministry, Youth Ministry, Adult, Youth and Children's Choirs, fully-graded Sunday School, and Church Training among others.

The next question is: how typical were the changes in membership, location and building, and area served by Emmanuel? Emmanuel was not typical of Southern Baptist Churches started in Johnson County in the 1960s in regard to changes in membership and location and building, with Calvary Baptist Church of Lenexa being the only other one organized during that decade. Calvary organized in 1960 with the number of charter members not recorded. But by 1964, they were nearly equal with Emmanuel and had a membership of 92.[23] By 1974, their membership had reached 172, about one-fourth of the growth Emmanuel experienced during its first 10 years.[24] Their growth in the next decade (1974-1984) was slower yet, with 218 members and 161 on the Sunday School roll. It is now about one-fifth the size of Emmanuel.[25] Perhaps this can be attributed to the fact that Lenexa during the 1960s was around one-fifteenth the size of Overland Park, its population going from 2,487 in 1960 to 5,242 in 1970.

By 1980, Lenexa caught up a lot to where it was only about one fifth the size of Overland Park with a population of 18,639.[26] Perhaps Calvary's growth was inhibited by its location. Pastor Craig, who came to Calvary on December 8, 1974, felt that Calvary's location was chosen because of its availability and low cost, and that being across the street from railroad tracks in an industrial area was a definite disadvantage. It would also cause Calvary to have to look for members in the residential areas other than those located directly behind the church and expand the area they reach. Their programs were expanded in 1974 to include a Day Care, a strong Youth Ministry and a Senior Adult Ministry (Pastor Craig is Chaplain at Lakeview Village, a retirement community in Lenexa) and these are directed at drawing people from areas other than just the local neighborhood. To accommodate potential growth, Calvary's original building containing the sanctuary and educational space was dedicated on April 22, 1962, and was then expanded once with the new unit containing offices and fellowship space, dedicated on April 21, 1975.[27]

The area served by Calvary has changed from the local community to reaching Overland Park, Shawnee, Olathe and DeSoto. This can most likely be related to the programs they offer and that Calvary is the only Southern Baptist Church west of Overland Park and between Overland Park and Lawrence. One factor that has changed rapidly at Calvary has been the number of pastors. From August 18, 1958, until December 8, 1974, Calvary called four pastors plus one interim pastor, Reverend Paul Elledge, in early 1970.[28] There were also two periods of four to six months where they had no pastor. Pastor Craig pointed out that the pastors I am referring to were student pastors, with the exception of Reverend Elledge, and that since their commitment was only part-time and divided between Calvary and school that this affected the commitment of the members. Perhaps a part-time commitment of the pastors and members stunted Calvary's growth during the first ten years, along with its location, and this slow start attributed to its slow growth over the years.

Emmanuel was not typical when compared to the Lutheran churches started in the 1960s--with Atonement Lutheran Church being an exception to that. Atonement was organized in 1962 with about 100 charter members. By 1964, its membership had risen to about 350. In the next decade Atonement more than tripled in size, with about 1,300 members on its roll. They burst again and in 1984 had about 2,000 members.[29] This definitely is much higher than at Emmanuel, yet the average attendance at Atonement's two worship services is around 650, about 33% of its members, while Emmanuel's average attendance in the two worship services is around 500, about 50% of its members.[30] Atonement does not keep records of Sunday School enrollment except for children, and in this age group (3-17) they had 152 in 1964, 437 in 1974 and 425 in 1984.[31] Emmanuel was lower in 1964 and 1984 but close in 1974. This can be attributed to the fact that Emmanuel's Adult Sunday School enrollment experienced an upward shift, from 48 in 1964 to 301 in 1974 to 582 in 1984.[32] This indicates that the original members' children have reached adulthood and that the number of singles, young couples without children and couples with children already grown are joining the church. Yet, without Atonement's adult enrollment, I cannot make a comparison here.

Atonement's location has changed little, but its building has expanded, like Emmanuel's, in three units. The first unit was the sanctuary and educational space built in 1963. The second unit was dedicated in 1970, and included a new sanctuary and their present fellowship space. 1975 brought the dedication of additional education space. Their present building can accommodate around 375-450 in each worship service and about 300 in each Sunday School hour, while Emmanuel can accommodate around 480 in each worship service and about 400 in each Sunday School hour, which indicates Emmanuel's building is larger even though it was built at a slower rate.[33] Atonement, like Emmanuel, has become a regional parish as opposed to a neighboorhood parish, Pastor Maahs believes, and he attributes this to their location which is accessible to many parts of the city and the programs they provide (including a Singles Ministry, Youth Ministry and the XYZ Club for retired adults). Pastor Maahs also commented that Atonement's growth was not typical of Lutheran churches started in the 1960s and that other congregations had grown from 400 to 600 members and stopped. He felt it may be attributed to a lack of commitment by the members to add staff or build on.

Thus, the first 20 years Emmanuel has been in Overland Park have been a time of upward mobility. Its changes in membership, location and building, and area served were astounding when compared to Calvary, and brought back into focus when compared to Atonement. Emmanuel is presently searching for a Pastor and a music minister as both Dr. Lacey and Sam Patty resigned after the 20th Anniversary celebration on April 1, 1984.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Robert W. Richmond, Kansas: A Land of Contrasts, St. Louis: Forum Press, 1980, page 32.

1.1 Uniform Church Letters for First Southern Baptist Church: 1953; Nall Avenue Baptist Church: 1953; Leawood Baptist Church: 1958; Calvary Baptist Church: 1960; Emmanuel Baptist Church: 1964.*

2. Estimate by Pastor Kenneth Combs--actual not known because Overland Park was not incorporated as a city until 1960.

3. Wendy A. Murray, Kansas Statistical Abstract, 1981.

4. Wendy A. Murray, Kansas Statistical Abstract, 1981.

5. The Scout, Prairie Village: January 24, 1963, page 1.

6. Amy Ruth Elledge, The Beginnings of Emmanuel Baptist Church, EBC Historical File: No date, but can estimate document was written in 1964 soon after EBC was organized, page 1.

7. Amy Ruth Elledge, The Beginnings of Emmanuel Baptist Church, EBC Historical File: No date, but can estimate document was written in 1964 soon after EBC was organized, page 1.

8. Amy Ruth Elledge, The Beginnings of Emmanuel Baptist Church, EBC Historical File: No date, but can estimate document was written in 1964 soon after EBC was organized, page 1.

9. Amy Ruth Elledge, The Beginnings of Emmanuel Baptist Church, EBC Historical File: No date, but can estimate document was written in 1964 soon after EBC was organized, page 1.

10. Emmanuel Baptist Church Bulletin, EBC Historical File: March 1, 1964, appendix.

11. Bert Clampitt, Outline of Church History, EBC Historical File: March 1969, page. 1.

12. Emmanuel Baptist Church Bulletin, EBC Historical File: March 1, 1964, appendix.

13. Wendy A. Murray, Kansas Statistical Abstract, 1981.

14. Quarterly Membership Report For EBC, EBC Historical File: March 31, 1964-March 31, 1972.

15. Emmanuel Baptist Church Uniform Letter; 1974.*

16. Emmanuel Baptist Church Directory, EBC Historical File: 1975.

17. Blue Valley Baptist Church Uniform Letter: 1984.*

18. Emmanuel Baptist Church Bulletin, 20-year Anniversary and New Building Dedication Service. EBC Historical File: April 1, 1984.

19. A Proposal for Growth of Chinese Ministry at Emmanuel Baptist Church. Language Group: January 1984.

20. Emmanuel Baptist Church Bulletin, 20-year Anniversary and New Building Dedication Service. EBC Historical File: April 1, 1984.

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22. Emmanuel Baptist Church Directory: 1984.

23. Calvary Baptist Church Uniform Letter: 1964.*

24. Calvary Baptist Church Uniform Letter: 1974.*

25. Calvary Baptist Church Uniform Letter: 1984.*

26. Wendy A. Murray, Kansas Statistical Abstract, 1981.

27. Calvary Baptist Church Uniform Letters: 1964, 1975.*

28. Calvary Baptist Church Uniform Letters: 1960 through 1974.*

29. Estimates by Paster Charles Maahs.

30. Estimates by Pastor Charles Maahs and Dr. Denny Williams--actual figures were not readily available.

31. Sunday School Records of Atonement Lutheran Church. Sunday School Records compiled by Carolyn Moore, Education Director and read to the author by her in her office at Atonement.

32. Emmanuel Baptist Church Uniform Letters: 1964, 1974, 1984.*

33. Estimates by Paster Charles Maahs and Dr. Denny Williams and Dr. Walt Lacey--can be verified by Property and Space Committee.

*EBC (Emmanuel Baptist Church) Historical File Documents were not in order chronologically, but many individual documents were. Most were dated and could be easily put in order.

NOTE: Facts and Dates are not footnoted are compilations of information obtained from interviews by the author (see bibliography) and from Emmanuel Baptist Church Documents.

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HURON CEMETERY

by Barbara Putman

Lyda and Hellena quickly built Fort Conley (a small shack) over the graves of their father and mother; they padlocked the gates of the cemetery and erected placards saying "Trespass at your own peril." Though the fort was burned, another rose from its ashes. Armed with determination and righteous indignation, the Conley sisters, lineal descendants of the Wyandotte Indian tribe, began a siege that was to last seven years. This stalemate came in 1906 in response to an item tucked away in a congressional appropriation bill which would authorize the government to sell a tract of land (Huron Cemetery), and allow for the relocation of all the graves.[1] This public burial spot had been reserved in the treaty of 1855, an agreement which gave the Wyandottes two hundred acres each and the right to claim United States citizenship in exchange for the last of their once vast land holdings.[2]

Should the Conley sisters' action be accepted as typical of a savage heritage, and discounted; or, should it be seen as the inevitable culmination of years of promises too lightly given and too easily broken? Nothing seems to have been so stereotyped as the native American's removal to the Great American Desert in the early 1800s. The significance of the Wyandotte Indian's contribution to the development of Kansas History should not be minimized.

This burial ground is the last chapter in a tale that began, not at the Kaw's mouth, but in the far off wilds of prehistoric Canada.[3] The Hurons, one of the five nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, lived along the St. Lawrence river and around the Great Lakes. The Confederacy, the most aggressive and dreaded groups north of Mexico, also did battle with their fellow tribes and were eventually reduced to remnants. Loyalties shifted and the tribes blended into one (the Wyandottes), and settled near the junction of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan.[4]

In 1615, Champlain, a French explorer, visited the Hurons and found vast fields of tobacco being cultivated. The Indians traded this tobacco to other tribes for food to supplement their diet, as there was a scarcity of game in their country. The French were intrigued with the idea of a tribe of barbarians engaging in trade on such a wide scale, and named them "Nation du Petun" (Tobacco Nation). In spite of their hardships and warfare, the Wyandottes were of a social disposition.[5] They lived in long lodges in villages which many times housed several families. Marriage was a tie lightly assumed; the girl signified her compliance by accepting a string of wampum. When either tired of the relationship, they simply separated; the woman kept all the wealth accumulated and the children. Due to such loose marriage customs, descent was traced through the matriarchal line (the children seldom knew who their father was); and, though marriage was lightly regarded, women were looked upon as the origin of life and respected accordingly, even having a voice in picking the tribal chiefs.[6] Perhaps this history of responsibility can partially explain the stand taken by the Conley sisters. In the 1700s, recovering from their losses and becoming leaders of all the tribes in the Ohio Valley, they gave their dispossessed Shawnee and Delaware brothers permission to settle on Wyandotte land.[7]

Through the course of the long warfare with the whites, many captives were adopted into the tribe and married Wyandottes. By 1812, white blood had been widely diffused among them; the last pure blood Wyandotte purportedly died in

Canada in 1820.[8] The great change undergone at this time by the Wyandottes set them apart from every other Indian tribe in America;[9] their conversion to Christianity through the efforts of the black preacher John Stewart, and the adoption of white persons into the tribe played a major role in the change.[10] The following view taken by Nellie McGuinan, a researcher of the history of Kansas City, Kansas, says,

> Up to 1817 the Wyandotte were uncivilized--wore flame colored clothes--women rode shaggy ponies just as the men did--caring little for household arts, the fertile soil lying uncultivated.[11]

Most sources support the fact that the tribe was progressive even before this time.

> As the mixed bloods came into leadership, they influenced the tribe away from war and toward the arts of peace and civilization.[12]

Foreseeing the inevitable takeover by the white settlers, and preferring to remain in their ancestral territories, they developed various strategies to protect their lands and the right to reside there: selling most of their land, retaining some 115,000 acres[13] near Detroit and Upper Sandusky, Ohio;[14] cooperating with Federal officials; ordering their lives so as to co-exist and be accepted as worthy neighbors; supporting United States in International goals; adopting white ways of dress and industry; establishing successful farms, plantations, businesses and, in the case of some, becoming prosperous slave holders; exchanging their traditional tribal government for one based on a written constitution with elected officials and courts; welcoming missionaries; establishing schools (many youth completed basic studies and continued their education in colleges in the Northeast); and forming a corps of elitist leaders, most better educated than neighboring whites, able to cope with their white counterparts in the professions, industry, business and politics. Such progress did not inspire confidence; rather, was seen as a threat by the Euro-whites who, unfortunately, feared, scorned and rejected those unlike themselves in culture and physical appearance.[15] In 1842, in spite of their valiant efforts to remain on their ancestral land, they were forced to move to Kansas Territory. In exchange for their land in Ohio they were to receive 148,000 acres west of the Mississippi and $185,000.[16] The Wyandottes were not typical in this respect, for most of the tribes affected by the Removal Act were destitute by the time they reached their new homes.

The exploratory expeditions sent out by the Wyandottes returned with negative reports; the land offered them by the government was too far from civilization and uninhabitable.[17] The Shawnees, who had been befriended earlier, had emigrated several years previously and agreed to a treaty for a parcel of their land to be allotted to the Wyandottes. Charles Dickens, the English novelist, was visiting America at this time and recorded a moving account of the Indian's strong attachment to the familiar scenes of their infancy; and, in particular, to the burial places of their kindred, and of their great reluctance to leave them.[18]

> More than white people they cherished a passionate attachment for the earth that held the bones of their ancestors and relatives. The trees that shaded their homes, the cooling spring that ministered to every family, friendly watercourses, familiar trails and protected spots; camp grounds and council houses were their property and their friends; these simple possessions filled their lives; their loss was cataclysmic.[19]

The younger men were sent ahead to drive the livestock, the remainder traveled overland to Cincinnati, then by steamboat to Kansas.[20]

> The Wyandottes reached the mouth of the Kansas river only to find no land for them and that they were strangers in a strange land.[21]

The Shawnee had repudiated the treaty.[22] The emigrants camped temporarily on a small strip of Government land between the Missouri border and the Kansas river while they negotiated with the Delaware who had also settled in the area. This tribe, also befriended by the Wyandotte in Ohio, agreed to sell thirty-six sections of their land and to give three additional sections because of past favors. While the Wyandottes were still in camp an epidemic broke out and some sixty of their number died. These bodies were carried across the Kansas river and buried on Delaware soil on the hill overlooking the river.[23] Such was the beginning of Huron Cemetery.

America's national leaders believed that the low public esteem for the region which encompassed the Indian Territory would protect the uprooted aborigines from ever again being placed in competition with the white settlers.[24] Although the creation of the Indian Territory as a permanent refuge for the transplanted Eastern Indians was, in some respects, an act of humanity on the part of certain Federal officials, it was also an expression of self-serving national purposes.[25]

At the time the public burial ground was set aside, two hundred eighty-one allotments of two hundred acres each were made and many Wyandottes gave up their tribal affiliation to become United States citizens.[26]

> If the Indian located in this territory manages his property rights well, they will become well off, every individual, from the proceeds of their lands. They have possessed themselves of the finest part of Kansas under the treaties which provided their removal.[27]

This positive statement did not prove true. Of the seven hundred who came from Ohio, many left because of the difficulties encountered in their new homes. The flood of 1844 killed many and brought typhoid; records show that there was not a well person among the tribe at this time.[28] A few returned East, and about two hundred, petitioning for their tribal standing to be reinstated, settled in Oklahoma on Seneca land.[29] Many of those remaining were well-educated and highly cultured people.[30]

> Outstanding for their intelligence, bravery and democratic form of government, they played an important role in the

> creation of the Territorial Government of Kansas; and, in piloting the territory toward statehood. Governor William Walker, head chief of the tribe when it came to this area, was the first Provisional Governor of the Kansas-Nebraska Territory.[31]

The leaders laid out the town of Wyandotte (later to become Kansas City, Kansas); and, just a few short months after their arrival, completed the first log cabin in the Territory. Within twelve months they erected a church, general store, and assembly hall; followed quickly by a post office and two banks. Matthias Splitlog, the mechanical genius of the tribe, built the first grist mill, saw mill, and blacksmith shop in the area, even designing and engineering a small steamboat.[32] The germ of commerce that was sown in the far off tobacco trade of the ancient Tobacco Nation reached its fullest development at the Kaw's mouth; for the struggling village was destined to become the unrivaled commercial and undisputed capital of the whole Southwest.[33]

An effort to safeguard the cemetery by giving the four corners of the block to different churches failed. Before long each church sold its land for business development at sizeable profits.[34] The edges of the burial plot were shaved and trimmed, shrinking with time.[35] The Congressional bill to do away entirely with the cemetery and sell the land was instigated by the Oklahoma Wyandottes.[36] However, the resident Wyandottes who had loved ones buried in the cemetery strongly opposed the sale. R. B. Armstrong voiced the sentiment of the opposition:

> It is our desire and intention not to dispose of the old Wyandotte cemetery, nor will we permit speculators to molest the resting places of our friends. It is an historic place and in it lies the dust of Christian people, pioneers in settlement of the far West, who were driven from their happy homes in the East, came here and re-established homes, schools and churches. Damned be the villain that would rob them of their peaceful graves for gain.[37]

The Conley girls' determination to preserve Huron cemetery subjected them to all sorts of persecution and petty annoyances: a federal judge threatened incarceration for contempt of court; a United States Marshal thundered at them; the girls were arrested and hauled into court on charges of disturbing the peace. Combining her determination with legal expertise, Lyda filed a suit in Federal Court against the Secretary of the Interior to restrain him from selling or interfering with the cemetery; slowly the case dragged its way through the lower courts to the Supreme Court of the United States. Lyda Conley, an Indian, a woman and a graduate of Kansas City School of Law in 1902, became the first woman lawyer to be allowed to try a case before that great court.[38] Her impassioned plea is taken from preparatory notes for her speech.

> History tells us that a superstitious reverence for and burial of the dead has been found a distinguishing trait of Indian character--to some extent we believe this to be true--as the graves of the Red Men were their only monuments, so tradition

> is their only history. Like Jacob of old, I too, when I shall be gathered unto my people, desire that they bury me with my father in Huron Cemetery, the most sacred and hallowed spot on earth to me, and I cannot believe that this is superstitious reverence anymore than I can believe that the reverence every true American has for the grave of Washington at Mount Vernon is a superstitious reverence.[39]

The Supreme Court ruled against her in 1910, but W. P. Honell, an outstanding civic leader led Congressman Charles Curtiss through the cemetery and convinced him that virtually no one in Kansas City, Kansas, wanted the cemetery destroyed; Curtiss got the obnoxious statute repealed in June 1913. Lyda Conley had won her long fight.[40] Curtiss moved again and secured a $10,000 government appropriation for the repair and perpetual care of the grounds.[41]

Burials continued for more than a hundred years. In 1890, Lucy B. Armstrong (the bride who occupied the first log cabin built in the territory), stated that more than four hundred burials had taken place between 1844 and 1855; but, as no tombstones were placed in those days, most of the graves are not perceptible and cannot be identified.

The Zane family was the largest of the Wyandotte tribe recorded in the government records. Lyda Conley, a member of this family, was laid to rest with her ancestors in that hallowed spot she had helped preserve.

Today, Huron Cemetery is a visual reminder of the history of a displaced people, their unusual efforts to adapt to the advances of an expanding nation, and their profound contribution to the early development of Kansas City, Kansas.

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7. Ibid., page 8.

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33. Strickland, page 15.

34. McDowell, no page number given.

35. Harrington, December 20, 1947, no page number given.

36. Ibid., December 21, 1947, no page number given.

37. Ibid., December 22, 1947, no page number given.

38. Ibid., December 23, 1947, no page number given.

39. Lyda B. Conley, Personal Collection, Wyandotte County Museum.

40. Harrington, December 23, 1947, no page number given.

41. Ibid., December 24, 1947, no page number given.

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THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF SOUTH PARK

MERRIAM, KANSAS

A PART OF THE WHOLE

by Barbara Rein

In 1970, the Black* population in the greater Kansas City area was 11.8 percent of the total population, relatively close to the United States percentage of 11.1 percent. In Johnson County, Kansas, the Blacks constituted .5 percent of the county's population.[1]

At the north end of Merriam, Kansas, lying between Overland Park and Shawnee, is the small, out of the way, seldom heard of community of South Park. Off by itself, remote even from its host city, Merriam, it is home to a small portion of the Black population of Johnson County. Their arrival dates back to the late 1890s and early 1900s, when several freed slaves arrived, from the South, with their families to try and establish a better life. The 1900 Federal Census shows three Black families in the area at that time.[2] One of the first families to arrive were the Webbs. Alfonso E. Webb, son of the original settlers, still lives in the area today, a few blocks from the family homeplace where he was born. Basically farmers, the surrounding countryside seemed to resemble the farm area in the South they had left behind.[3] Other families that settled and helped build the community were the Swann, Reed, Hayes and Dyer families. Other Blacks, like the family of Buford J. Allen, another active, long-time resident, moved to the South Park community in the 1930s to escape the encroaching bad atmosphere already being generated in the inner city. The clean, rural atmosphere seemed a better place to raise a family.[4]

South Park is not totally a Black community, for whites have always been a part of the area. According to old deeds and abstracts, the original concept was to develop a Mission Hills type development.[5] However, this never materialized. Instead, the Black residents lived on dirt and rock roads, in log and even tar paper houses. Water was obtained from wells, dug by hand. Transportation was provided by horse or foot.[6] It has always been a working community. Many of the children, and a few of the women, worked for the local Belgian farmers in the summers, picking radishes and asparagus. One family, the Swanns, pooled the money earned in this manner and managed to put all seven children through the University of Kansas. Some of the men worked for the railroad or in custodial positions,[7] while others dug wells and cellars, did stone work or whatever other jobs were available.[8] Social life centered mainly around the Mount Olive Baptist Church and the sand lot baseball games of the boys.[9]

Two significant events brought major changes to the community. The first such event is the story of a small group's battle for a decent education, in decent surroundings, for their children. The Black children all attended the Madam C. J. Walker School. Named for a national manufacturer of hair products, it was housed in a ninety year old building. It consisted of two rooms, separated by a moveable wall.[10] Until 1947, the construction of the Walker School and the all White South Park school were comparable, but in 1947, School District 90 made funds available to construct a new, $90,000.00 school at 8715 West 49 Terrace.[11] The Black parents went before the School Board and requested that improvements be made in the Walker School[12] since, as taxpayers, they felt entitled to as good a facility as the new school offered the white children.[13]

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*Author's Note: In this paper, the term Blacks will be substituted for all mentions of the colored or Negro race in references.

With the opening of the new school, the contrasts were glaringly obvious. A blacktop playground with new equipment at the South Park School compared to the dirt playground, vital parts missing from swings and slides, outdoor lavatories, no kindergarten or music room, no cafeteria and two rooms, two teachers compared to eight rooms, eight full-time and two part-time teachers, were some of the most obvious differences in the two structures. One was a fire hazard--the other as fire proof as modern technology allowed.[14] The School Board tended to overlook these differences, making small improvement concessions such as paint and improved lighting.[15] In May 1948, the Black parents attempted to enroll their children in the new South Park school; they were turned down.[16] They appealed to the County Court, but receiving no recommendation there, they took their fight to the Kansas Supreme Court. Acting for the community, Alfonso E. and Mary J. Webb, Thelma and Earnest Burrell Turner, Jr., and Thomas Black on behalf of their children, asked the Court for a writ of mandamus admitting their children to South Park School.[17] And, the Blacks found a community supporter in the shape of Esther Brown, a white, Mission resident. Mrs. Brown first heard of the case from Mrs. William Swann, an employee in her home. She was shocked at the discrimination being practiced in Kansas, the "liberal" state. Discrimination was not a new issue to Mrs. Brown. As a six year old, she had questioned why no Black students were enrolled at her elementary school. This was the start of her insistent probing into the whys of racial and religious discrimination[18] and led her to take a stand with the Black South Park residents. She began a door to door campaign in the area, explaining to parents the violation of the Kansas statutes.[19] As a result, in a dramatic step, the parents, in the fall of 1948, took their children out of the Walker School.[20] Of the forty-five Black children, only two remained enrolled.[21] These taxpaying citizens went into their own pockets and those of friends and sympathizers and held bake sales and other fundraisers to pay $100.00 a month each to two private teachers to tutor their children so that their education would not suffer as a result of the walkout.[22] The children in grades 1-4 met at the home of Mrs. Lucille Day and those in grades 5-8 in Mrs. Marva Berry's home.[23] Mrs. Brown helped solicit funds to pay for the teachers' salaries as well as helping to organize a local branch of the NAACP to secure the strength of the national organization for the court case.[24] Although she received threats that her house would be burned and was exposed to much name-calling in an area where the KKK was once a stronghold, she did not deter.[25]

The importance of the pending case was attested to by the fact that the national office of the NAACP sent a member of its legal staff, Franklin H. Williams, to Topeka to argue the case. Future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall also represented the plaintiffs.[27] The lawyers were interested only in seeing that Kansas law was upheld. The "Separate But Equal" theory upheld in other United States Supreme Court cases did not apply, for the laws in Kansas provided for segregation in schools only in first class cities, i.e., Kansas City and Wichita, which presumably had enough funds to support a dual, equal system. Since the law forbade segregation by race, it seemed South Park had no choice but to admit both races to both schools, if the taxpayers chose to support two schools within a three block area.[28] The method frequently used to get around this law was to gerrymander attendance zones to place Blacks in a single school, as was the case in racially mixed South Park. So, the case hinged around the zoning laws.[29] Blacks lived in both zones, but those in the South Park zone had no school-aged children, and "zoning lines 'meander up

streets and down alleys,' zigzagging in such a way as to include every Negro home with school-aged children in the Walker School District" according to Williams' presentation to the Court.[30] He also pointed out that until May 1948, there had been no such zoning lines and that white pupils had to pass by the Walker School to reach their own.[31] The Court's decision was that the Board either abandon the ancient, dilapidated Walker School and all the students attend the new, modern South Park School or that they rebuild or make comparable, the Walker School, and comprise a reasonable, logical zoning plan so that both Blacks and whites attend both schools.[32] The School Board, as a result of the decision, offered to float another Bond Issue to update the Walker School, but the Black parents saw no reason to spend additional tax money when the new school was large enough to accommodate all.[33] Another rejected suggestion was to teach all the Black children in one room of the new school.[34] However, the Friday before the start of school in September 1949, both Black and white parents met to express their desire to co-operate. On Monday, according to the new principal, Charles M. Rutherford, there were no untoward incidents among the students and no changes in the normal procedure of adding new pupils.[35] Thus was the beginning of desegregation in Kansas.

Elsewhere in the United States, the NAACP was making progress in the desegregation fight. In Virginia, school officials were fined for failure to obey a court order to equalize school facilities,[36] court action was initiated in East St. Louis, Illinois, when Black students were refused enrollment in three restricted white schools,[37] and in Indiana, a bill was passed abolishing segregated schools.[38]

Yet, all the work was not over for the Black South Park residents. There were "no Negroes in Shawnee Mission high school at this time as students for higher education in the South Park district attended Sumner high school in Kansas City, Kansas--a new building with excellent facilities."[39] The Shawnee Mission District even hired a bus and furnished free books for these students, for at the time one could attend any school in an adjoining district. Up until this time, no one questioned the practice, it was just the case that a Black school was available in the next county and most Black parents felt that an education, even twenty miles away, was better than none at home.[40] Then, in 1950, twenty Black students enrolled in Shawnee Mission Rural High School and met no opposition.[41] At the same time, on the university level, the students at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, in a campus poll, favored four to one the admission of Black undergraduate students.[42] Desegregation in Johnson County, Kansas, schools was complete and gaining momentum in the rest of the country.

The second major change in the community came as a result of annexation by Merriam, Kansas, in 1967. Several of the better portions of South Park had been annexed earlier by Shawnee and Overland Park, including the area containing the fire station, leaving the blighted, mostly Black portion with few public services.[43] Police calls, for example, were handled by the sheriff's office in Olathe.[44] The problem began in the early 1960s when Shawnee annexed the portion of South Park east of Switzer. Merriam was disturbed by the annexation, but had previously annexed an area that Shawnee felt should be theirs.[45] Thus began a tug-of-war between the two cities. The citizens' main concern was which city could provide them with the much needed street, lighting and sewer improvements the unincorporated township needed.[46] Even though

Shawnee was directly responsible at the time for the area, little money was available with which to make these improvements.[47] So, the citizens turned to Merriam. A Neighborhood Council, represented by Julius McFarlin, inquired about affiliating with the city of Merriam.[48] There was some reluctance to the annexation of the racially mixed area by the Merrian City Council, since it could result in the integration of the city swimming pool. It would, however, improve the city's chances of receiving a proposed Urban Renewal Grant, since substandard housing existed in the South Park Area.[49] Mayor Victor W. Kearns, Jr., appointed an official delegation from the City Council to re-open communication with Shawnee on the issue and in 1968 (sic) a trade of the aforementioned annexed land was made for the South Park area.[50] On October 9, 1967, the annexation was approved. The city agreed to immediately provide city ambulance, fire and police protection[51] and some street lighting.[52] The citizens would have to petition the sewer and water districts themselves, the city could help only indirectly.[53]

The South Park Neighborhood Committee, made up of citizens of all races, was formed in order to qualify for Urban Renewal funds. Mr. McFarlin was a member of the committee. Members met regularly with both city and federal government officials, as well as serving as liaisons with the residents. It was sometimes a struggle to convince the older residents of the benefits the new program would bring in the form of paved streets, sewers and gutters to solve the drainage problems, sidewalks and lighting. They saw their taxes tripling to pay for sewer lines and many let their property go.[54] Over the next few years, thirty to thirty-five blighted homes were torn down or mysteriously burned down. One home, for example, that had been vacated and the electricity cut off by the power company, was burned to the ground. The cause of the fire was cited as "electrical." However, since no one was ever injured in any of these fires, even those inhabited were never burned when people were home, and all were eyesores, little effort was made to solve the cause.[55] There was also the Urban Renewal funds to help build new houses.[56] In 1973, Julius McFarlin ran for City Councilman for Ward 1, the area encompassing South Park. He became the first Black elected to office in Johnson County.[57] Buford Allen replaced him on the Neighborhood Committee.[58]

Both integration and annexation changed the Black community of South Park. Many of the young people have left the area for jobs and better housing.[59] Until the late 1960s, federal policies forbade FHA loans and mortgage insurance in integrated housing developments[60] and little good rental property was available there.[61] With today's mobility, it is difficult for the area to grow as a "Black community," as today's young adults look for housing near their jobs, not for other Blacks.[62]

Yet, South park remains a close-knit community, retaining much of its original flavor and strength that saw it through more difficult times to the tranquility it enjoys today. Only 20 percent of the South Park population is Black. The rest is comprised of whites, Hispanics, Japanese, Chinese and Vietnamese.[63] There have never been any real racial problems, only problems between individuals.[64] The old Walker School building still stands, home now to the Philadelphia Missionary Baptist Church, and children of all races play in a park named in memory of Esther Brown.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Distribution of Black Population," Merriam, Kansas Neighborhood Development Program - South Park Neighborhood Socio-Economic Survey Report Prepared for the Merriam, Kansas, Urban Renewal Agency, October 1972-May 1973, p. 30.

2. United States Census Bureau, State of Kansas, Johnson County, Shawnee Township, 1900.

3. Personal interview with Alfonso E. Webb, 11 April 1984.

4. Personal interview with Buford J. Allen, 21 April 1984.

5. Allen.

6. Webb.

7. Allen.

8. Webb.

9. Webb.

10. "Contributions to South Park School Case Still Coming In," Kansas City Call, 29 April 1949, p. 15, col. 7.

11. "Money Still Needed for Expenses For South Park Discrimination Case," Kansas City Call, 25 February 1949, p. 13, col. 7.

12. Levings, Darryl W., "Blacks Recall Long Trips to Segregated Schools," Kansas City Star, 5 May 1977, Sec. E, p. 4, col. 1.

13. "Must Admit Negroes to South Park Grade School," Johnson County Herald, 16 June 1949, p. 1, cols. 3-4.

14. Kansas City Call, 25 February 1949, p. 13. col. 6.

15. Webb.

16. "South Park Case to State Court," Kansas City Call, 8 April 1949, p. 1, col. 6.

17. Kansas Supreme Court, South Park - Merriam, Kansas, School Case No. 37,427 (Webb vs. School District 90), "Syllabus By the Court," 1949.

18. "Mrs. Esther Brown, Twentieth Century Joan of Arc, Woman of Week," Kansas City Call, 29 April 1949, p. 7, col. 4.

19. Kansas City Call, 29 April 1949, p. 7, cols. 4-5.

20. Kansas City Call, 8 April 1949, p. 20, col. 2.

21. "Two Pupils in Walker Building," Kansas City Call, 21 September 1948, p. 6, cols. 1-3.

22. Kansas City Call, 8 April 1949, p. 20, cols. 2-3.

23. "Temporary Teaching for Pupils," Kansas City Call, 26 September 1948, p. 8, cols. 7-8.

24. Kansas City Call, 29 April 1949, p. 7, col. 5.

25. Ibid.

26. Kansas City Call, 8 April 1949, p. 20, col. 3.

27. Webb.

28. "Get 'On the Beam' South Park," Kansas City Call, 15 April 1949, p. 20, cols. 1-2.

29. Kansas City Call, 8 April 1949, p. 20, col. 3.

30. Kansas City Call, 8 April 1949, p. 20, cols. 3-4.

31. Kansas City Call, 8 April 1949, p. 20, col. 4.

32. Kansas City Call, 15 April 1949, p. 20, cols. 1-2.

33. Kansas City Call, 8 April 1949, p. 20, cols. 4-5.

34. Levings, p. 4, col. 2.

35. "No Incidents as Children Who Won Court Fight Enroll at South Park," Kansas City Call, 16 September 1949, p. 1, col. 8.

36. "Fined for Failure to Equalize Schools," Kansas City Call, 13 May 1949, p. 1, cols. 4-5.

37. "E. St. Louis - NAACP to Demand End to School Jim Crow," Kansas City Call, 2 February 1949, p. 4, col. 1.

38. "Indiana Abolishes Segregated Schools," Kansas City Call, 8 April 1949, p. 20, col. 3.

39. Johnson County Herald, 16 June 1949, p. 1, col. 4.

40. Levings, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

41. Levings, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

42. "Washington U. Students Vote to Admit Negroes as Under-Graduates," Kansas City Call, 13 May 1949, p. 1, col. 6.

43. Allen.

44. Trotter, Thomas J., "Problems, Potential in Annexation," Kansas City Times, 11 October 1967, Sec. A, p. 4, col. 4.

45. Roberts, Rob., "Shawnee Annexation History Documents an Urge to Grow," Shawnee Journal, 17 December 1980, p. 18, col. 4.

46. Personal interview with Julius McFarlin, 4 April 1984.

47. Trotter, p. 4, col. 4.

48. City of Merriam, Kansas, Minutes of Regular Council Meeting, 20 March 1967.

49. Trotter, p. 4, col. 3.

50. City of Merriam, Kansas, Minutes of Special Council Meeting, 8 June 1967.

51. Trotter, p. 4. col. 4.

52. City of Merriam, Kansas, Minutes of Special Council Meeting, 9 October 1967.

53. Ibid.

54. McFarlin.

55. Allen.

56. McFarlin.

57. Ibid.

58. Allen.

59. Ibid.

60. Watts, Thomas G., "Bussing," Kansas City Star, 5 May 1977, Sec. E, p. 1, col. 3.

61. McFarlin.

62. Allen.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

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GARDNER, KANSAS

A Demographic Study 1857-1925

A Personal View 1920-1984

by Caroline Wolfe

When a town is founded, what is the substance of the dream? The founders of Gardner, Kansas, came to a place already marked by history, a site where the two greatest pioneer trails in Western history had been beaten into the earth as a highway and where they divided to lead the trader to riches in Santa Fe and the emigrant to homes in Oregon and California. These founding fathers did not dream of a great city, for no vast river flowed past to provide water for a large population. Perhaps their dream was one of a prosperous and secure farm community as they saw the fertile prairie stretch before them.

In 1854 when Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, opening these territories to settlement, the nation was involved in the emotional issue of slavery. This Act repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820 by allowing the residents of the territories to decide whether theirs should be free or slave-holding states. The 36°30' line drawn in 1820, north of which no slavery was to be allowed except in Missouri, was no longer valid. As the Kansas territory was opposite that of slave-holding Missouri, it was assumed by many that Kansas was to be another slave-holding state. Thus the collision of both proslavery Missourians and free-state settlers from the East produced the "Bleeding Kansas" territory into which the Gardner founding fathers entered in the spring of 1857. Free-state Lawrence had already been partially destroyed by a proslavery faction and Abolitionist John Brown had led the massacre of five proslavery settlers at Pottawatomie Creek and had successfully defended Osawatomie from Border Ruffians.

It was not until early 1857 that the Shawnee Indians had completed their selection of land allotments in Johnson County. In the spring of that year nearly twenty families took claims in and around the division of the trails. By August a town company was formed of free-state men from Vermont, Maine and Massachusetts.[1] The five original members were Asa Thayer, O. B. Gardner, B. B. Francis, G. W. Chamberlain, and A. B. Bartlett.[2] They had the plat surveyed and named the village Gardner after Governor Henry J. Gardner of Massachusetts.[3] The land was bounty land from the War of 1812 and the Mexican War and was assigned for sale at Lecompton.[4] With 320 acres they laid out streets and gave shares of eight lots to anyone who would build a home on the townsite.[5]

Settlers came mainly from free-states of Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, Indiana and Iowa. One family came from Virginia and three from the British Isles.[6] True to their free-state beliefs, in 1858 when the deciding vote on the proslavery Lecompton Constitution was cast, Gardner Township voters turned it down by 100 votes to 3.[7] By 1860 Gardner boasted a population of 53 within the town, including four merchants, a blacksmith, a carpenter and a landlord with a rooming house.[8]

The Civil War did not leave this town untouched. In 1861 the Up Hays' rebel gang looted the Gardner Armory and the merchants and found themselves followed to the Missouri line by some two hundred Gardner Township settlers.[9] In May of 1863, a number of Quantrill's men under Dick Yeager entered Gardner, took hostages and stole money and clothing before releasing their prisoners and escaping.[10] On the evening of August 20, 1863, Quantrill led his men through Gardner, posing as Union recruits. They forced townspeople to trade horses with them and stole freshly baked bread before going on to Lawrence. Settlers in the Gardner area told of seeing the smoke and flames from their homes as

Quantrill burned Lawrence in the early morning hours of August 21.[11] Gardner gave its share of men to this war, as it did in every war thereafter.[12]

In these early years of Gardner the Santa Fe Trail was still a mighty shipping road. The use of this part of the Oregon Trail was in its final days as those who once might have gone to Oregon were now settling in the open lands of Kansas and Nebraska. Railroad lines to the north in the late 1860s left this part of Kansas out of the later migrations as they connected with the Oregon Trail in Nebraska. Nevertheless, Gardner folk saw the Conestogas and heavy freight wagons lumber through their main street for several years after Gardner's founding.[13]

A high degree of literacy was found among these people, there being few adults unable to read and write. A school was begun in one of the homes in 1858[14] and by 1860 there were nine children in attendance.[15] This level of literacy has been maintained throughout Gardner's history with the exceptions being the year when Irish laborers, mostly illiterate, were laying track for the Santa Fe Railroad through the town and later, when Mexican laborers came to maintain that track.[16]

By 1870 the population of Gardner had grown to about 77 souls if you subtract approximately 50 laborers from the census total of 117.[17] Those 50 were the railroad workers who stayed only briefly. In this same year the problem of prohibition in Kansas was coming to a head. The formation of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in the state, as well as the growth of other temperance groups had little effect in Gardner, for Gardner seems to have been unique--it never had a saloon. If the railroad workers wanted to drink they must have done it elsewhere as no saloons or gambling "dens" appeared to have made Gardner into the wild town so often seen at the end of the track.[18]

The Grange movement did have an effect on Gardner. In 1873 the Gardner Grange was chartered, the first in Johnson County. It was joined by a Grange store and lodge hall in 1882.[19] Even though eastern Kansas was not as badly hit by the droughts and grasshoppers as the western part of the state, some suffering was surely experienced.[20] Settlers told of being unable to see the sun when the grasshoppers arrived in 1874 and of having no crop at all if not replanted soon.[21]

With the cycles of drought years and good years through the last three decades of the 19th Century, one would not expect much growth within a small Kansas town, yet Gardner apparently prospered. The Federal Census of 1880 shows a population in the city of Gardner of 203, nearly three times that of the actual population in 1870. There were now 51 school children. Gardner maintained four blacksmiths and one apprentice, four carpenters, seven assorted merchants, a brick mason, a harnessmaker and a liveryman, and two dressmakers, one milliner and at least one seamstress. Prosperity seems in evidence.[22]

In 1885 there was a small decline. Perhaps some could not last through the recurring economic slumps and succumbed to their losses. The population dropped to 186 and now included six Blacks.[23] These Blacks were apparently the first in Gardner and were gone by 1895.[24] Seven more Blacks appear in 1900[25] but are gone by 1905[26].

Again in 1895 there was an increase in population for a total of 385 with 92 school children. The first wage schedule available is for that year and has a range of pay per day from $3.00 for stone and brick masons down to $0.50 for seamstresses. The highest paid female worker was the milliner at $1.00 per day. Unskilled city laborers received $1.25 and washerwomen, $0.75. Male teachers received $60.00 per month and females, $40.00. A druggist was now listed as were a horse trainer, a telegraph operator and a music teacher.[27]

In 1899, the first successful newspaper was begun in Gardner, the Gardner Gazette, and the first telephones were installed.[28] Gardner sent its men to the Philippines in 1898 with the Fighting Kansas 20th.[29] By 1900 the population was 475 and Gardner supported six dressmakers, two confectioners, a photographer, a dentist, three barbers and seemed well-entered into the 20th Century.[30]

Another small decline of population occurred in 1905 with a drop to 413 and 84 children in school. Wages had risen $0.25 to $0.50 per day from 1895 levels for most skilled workers and only the poor washerwoman received the same $0.75. Male teachers received increases of $20.00 per month during that ten year period, while female teachers gained only $5.00. The census notes that at least one girl is learning to type.[31]

The 1910 Federal census and the 1915 and 1925 State Censuses show a relatively stable population for Gardner, ranging from 505 to 536 people. More and more the progress of our mechanical age may be seen in the disappearance of such occupations as blacksmith, harnessmaker and liveryman and the appearance of the auto dealer and mechanic, the plumber and the electrician and the insurance agent.

Gardner's story is not one of dramatic success and dramatic disaster. Its people survived the natural disasters that occurred, such as cyclone damage and loss by fire. Gardner's growth was steady and sure and stable like the population which built it. From the beginning it was a fairly homogenous group of white Anglo-Saxons with roots in the British Isles, Germany and Scandinavia. They were of both Protestant and Roman Catholic backgrounds and respected one another and did little to emphasize their differences.[32]

Gardner's steadiness and stability seems to describe a lack of passion for "great movements" in history. Certainly one hears that the Ku Klux Klan reared its head in the area for a period in the 1920s. Nothing much seems to have come of it. No great passion. There are many small towns which probably fit the description of Gardner. Today we describe this lack of passion as apathy. Yesterday, did we call it serenity?

Populism? Surely Gardner was mainly populist as it was an agrarian movement and Gardner was an agricultural community. The influence of the railroads was not dramatic; Gardner was a grain shipping center with steady growth. Prohibitionism barely touched the town. Drought and depression affected the area certainly, but the settlers hung on and there were no dramatic exoduses to other parts.

Those who came, tarried awhile, then departed did so as individuals, not as a part of any great migration. They left behind the graves of their children as did pioneers in the east and on the trails throughout the 19th Century.

This statistical study ends in 1925, on the verge of the Great Depression. If the years of the post-Civil War era through the turn of the century and somewhat beyond were years of solidity and closeness for Gardner, it is not necessarily true that this should continue ad infinitum. The World Wars, the Depression and modern-day urban development may have produced more complete change in Gardner than any occurrences in the past.

Excerpts from an interview[33] with a native of Gardner and that town's historian, Virginia Armstrong Johnson reveals the following:

> Question: Did either the First World War or the Depression have much effect on the growth or decline of population in Gardner?
>
> Mrs. Johnson: Gardner, from the time that I can remember ranged in size from, say, 300 to 500 in population. During World War I I don't think there was much change in the total population. When World War II came along and the naval base was built, and also the ordnance plant over at DeSoto was built, many of the workers . . . came to live in the Gardner area. Then . . . families of servicemen at the base did come into the community, but . . . war was over many of them left, but . . . within a few years . . . many young men who had served at the Naval Air Station came back to the Gardner area to live and have raised their families here and have prospered. It was, it had something that drew them back. It was a friendly town and it still is.
>
> Now Gardner's population is over 2,000 and as the Kansas City paper calls it, we are sometimes nicknamed a "bedroom" community for Kansas City because so many of our men are employed in Kansas City and in Northeast Johnson County.
>
> The Depression years affected Gardner in a certain way. The business district did not grow very much but even the prosperity of recent years has not changed the downtown community . . . we have in Olathe and Northeast Johnson County so many of the malls and shopping centers and it's always been that way. People in Gardner used to go to Olathe to shop. People in Olathe went on farther northeast to shop and then the trend continues . . . .
>
> Question: Do you find . . . that because of the fact that you have people living here as a bedroom community there is less sense of community?
>
> Mrs. Johnson: Oh yes, there certainly is. For instance, right here in my own neighborhood . . . I do not know the names of

the people that live in the blocks around me except for a few old-timers. That is where I notice the difference . . . .

Question: That the population is more transient?

Mrs. Johnson: They own their homes, but . . . they are entirely different, couple of generations away from me and we have nothing in common and they come and go.

Question: Do they get involved in community activities?

Mrs. Johnson: They might.

Question: Are there activities to become involved in?

Mrs. Johnson: The men have their Chamber of Commerce and their Lion's Club . . . women have various clubs . . . clubs involving people in the rural community. I would say . . . church groups . . . have close-knit relationships just as the clubs do.

Question: If Gardner were to have a centennial celebration today . . . would you expect the response from the community that you got in '57?

Mrs. Johnson: I doubt it . . . because there are so few of the original people left . . . for us old-timers we have not continued to follow along the present-day trends as we might have done.

Question: And the new generations are not following along as much of the old (trends), or learning about the old?

Mrs. Johnson: I think so.

There is yet a nucleus of descendants of those old settlers of Gardner who grew along with their town and township. To these people it is the family hometown. Perhaps the newer arrivals will come to view it in the same light. However, in the Gardner cemetery there are a growing number of infant graves left by those who came, tarried, then departed.

FOOTNOTES

1. Virginia Armstrong Johnson, Gardner, Where the Trails Divide, 1857-1957, Gardner, Kansas: Gardner Centennial Committee, 1957, 4-5. (Hereafter referred to as Johnson, Vol. I.)

2. Charter, Miscellaneous Record No. 15, 173, Johnson County Courthouse, Olathe, Kansas.

3. Johnson, Vol. I, 4-5.

4. Deed Book U, 506-507, Johnson County Courthouse, Olathe, Kansas.

5. Virginia Armstrong Johnson, Gardner, Where the Trails Divide, 1857-1977, Ft. Scott, Kansas: Sekan Printing Company, 1977, 25. (Hereafter referred to as Johnson, Vol. II.)

6. Eighth Census of the United States (Kansas Territory), 1860, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm). (Hereafter all United States censuses will be referred to as: U.S. Census [date].)

7. Johnson, Vol. II, 26.

8. U.S. Census (1860).

9. Johnson, Vol. II, 65-66.

10. Ibid., 67-68.

11. Ibid., 69-70.

12. Ibid., 59-60, 120.

13. Ibid., 123, entry for 1860.

14. Johnson, Vol. I, 7.

15. U.S. Census (1860).

16. U.S. Census (1860-1910).

17. U.S. Census (1870).

18. Robert W. Richmond, Kansas, A Land of Contrasts, St. Louis: Forum Press, 1980 (2nd Ed.), 100.

19. Johnson, Vol. II, 123.

20. Richmond, 132.

21. Johnson, Vol. I, 44.

22. U.S. Census (1880).

23. Decennial Census of Kansas, Department of Agriculture, Topeka, Kansas (1885), Johnson County.
(Hereafter all Kansas State Censuses will be referred to as: State Census [date].)

24. State Census (1895).

25. U.S. Census (1900).

26. State Census (1905).

27. State Census (1895).

28. Johnson, Vol. II, 124.

29. Ibid.

30. U.S. Census (1900).

31. State Census (1905).

32. Johnson, Vol. I, 5-7.

33. Virginia Armstrong Johnson/Caroline Wolfe, March 30, 1984, Olathe, Kansas (tape--last five minutes).

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SHAWNEE TOWNSHIP: A DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

OF

1860, 1880, 1900

by Elizabeth A. Zetzman

Introduction

What demographic changes took place in Shawnee Township between the periods of 1860, 1880, and 1900; how did those changes compare to change nationally and in the total state?

My objective in this research is to show that the Federal Census can reflect economic and social change within Shawnee Township and that Shawnee Township is somewhat of a mirror image of change taking place within the state and country.

Prior to and during the period of the 1860s, our nation was in an era of expansion, growth, and turmoil. Gold discovered in 1849 in California led many people from the east across the country in search of their fortunes. As the settlers traveled west through the nation's midsection, it became apparent that the lands they were crossing were worth settling. News of the rich land got back to the east which led to increased interest in migration.

Settlement of new territories was encouraged by the passing of the Homestead Act of 1862.[1] It was considered by some members of Congress an unfavorable time to dispose of public land because of the nation's involvement in the Civil War.[2] According to Senator Pomeroy, the development of the West was important to the progress of the nation.[3] Shortly before the nation's involvement in the Civil War, railroads started to make their appearance. This method of transportation opened the territories for even more expansion.

Turmoil was created by a bill introduced by U.S. Senator Dodge in 1853 to organize Nebraska into a territory which included Kansas.[4] This bill called for the use of "popular sovereignty." Resident voters would decide if they would allow slavery within their territories.[5] The idea of "popular sovereignty" led to much controversy which in turn created organizations for emigration to Kansas. One of the organizations formed by supporters of anti-slavery was the Emigrant Aid Company of Massachusetts.[6] This organization was to combat southern influence. Although the Civil War was not caused directly by differences of opinion regarding "popular sovereignty," this discord played a very important role in leading up to the war.

During the 1860s, our country's involvement in the Civil War caused most emigration, growth, and expansion to cease. Following the war there began a period of reconstruction. It was believed by some that Lincoln encouraged eastern business more than western growth.[7]

The period of the 1870s to the 1890's found the country involved in the controversy of prohibition.[8] Scandal and corruption marked Grant's administration which involved misuse of funds nationally. Mark Twain referred to this era as the "Guilded Age," an era devoted to the growth of industrial capitalism and opportunities that led to that growth.[10] Discontent with the uneven distribution of economic wealth led to the formation of various political parties including the Populists. Even though Populism eventually declined due to internal disagreement and lack of membership, it helped create change within our society and country.

Just prior to and during the early 1900s our nation found itself in a period of prosperity. There was an increase in automation--new mechanism within farming and other advances including the telephone system and the automobile. Many of these changes are reflected in the census patterns for the period of 1860 through 1900.

Part I: Kansas 1860

Drought played a major role in Kansas farming and limited population growth.[11] Most settlers were unprepared for the drought of 1860.[12] Thirty thousand settlers left Kansas to return to their old homes; seventy thousand remained in Kansas and of these, thirty thousand were unable to care for themselves. The local government had to come to the aid of the settlers with food and money.[13] The population of Kansas in 1860 was 107,206; this showed little growth from the prior years.[14] Farming did not become viable until after the Civil War. Most of the able bodied men found themselves pressed into service.[15] During those four years of war, Kansas did not have population growth.[16] There was little improvement in education until after the war; at that time many schools were started.[17] The period of 1860 in Kansas was a slow one and Kansas did not start to grow until after the Civil War. It would still be a few years until Kansas would find itself in a period of prosperity.

Federal Census 1860

The Federal Census of 1860 for Shawnee Township shows the following demographics:

POPULATION		WHITES	BLACKS
MALE		328	0
FEMALE		232	0
	Total	560	0

OCCUPATIONS	
FARMING	139 (79%)
LABORERS	29 (16%)
CARPENTERS	4
BLACKSMITHS	2
SHOEMAKER	1
TEACHER	1
SURVEYOR	1
Total	177

SCHOOLING	
MALES	48
FEMALES	37
Total	85 (15%)

LITERACY

CANNOT READ	11	(2.0%)
CANNOT WRITE	13	(2.3%)
Total	24	

FOREIGN BORN

GERMANY	21	
ENGLAND	16	
IRELAND	12	
DENMARK	3	
CANADA	1	
FRANCE	1	
Total	54	(9.6%)

UNITED STATES BORN

MISSOURI	96	TENNESSEE	29
KENTUCKY	90	INDIANA	20
OHIO	76	IOWA	17
KANSAS	47	MICHIGAN	13
ILLINOIS	44	PENN.	10
VIRGINIA	29	OTHERS	35
		Total	506

REAL ESTATE VALUE

$ 500 & Under	17
1000 & Under	15
3000 & Under	20
5000 & Under	8
10000 & Under	2
10000 & Over	1
Total	63

PERSONAL PROPERTY VALUE

$ 500 & Under	71
1000 & Under	19
2000 & Under	3
5000 & Under	5
Over 5000	1
Total	99[18]

Shawnee Township in 1860

The population in Shawnee Township was typical of a western frontier territory at the time. Men outnumbered women as they were usually first in settling new areas of the country. Women followed, providing the homelike atmosphere. This likely acted as a deterrent to the men moving west.

The only significant occupation in Shawnee was farming, the work of seventy-nine percent of the males. The term laborer was a general work category which referred to many tasks as diverse as loading wagons to construction.

Education, even during the early history of the township, was very important as evidenced by eighty-five children in school. Since males outnumbered females in school, one believes it was because parents felt it more important that their sons become educated as women would only end up as housewives. This observation is supported in that not one woman was listed as having an occupation.

Surprisingly only 2.3% of the population of the township at that time could not write and even a smaller percentage could not read. This statistic indicates that education was considered important and was brought with the settlers when they migrated to Kansas.

Another notable consideration is that less than ten percent of the population was foreign born. Kansas was not a large state for foreign immigration, but was settled more by people looking for better opportunities within the United States itself.[19]

Part II: Kansas 1880

The population of Kansas by 1880 had swelled to 996,096.[20] This was a period of prosperity and hope. Railroads were making efforts to bring settlers into Kansas, and the state was being widely advertised as the place to settle. People from the east were eager to invest in Kansas land and property. Money was easy to borrow at that time, and Kansans were willing to speculate; Kansas "was soon on the boom."[21]

Between 1870-1880, numerous farmers migrated to Kansas, mainly from the Mississippi River Valley and central and northern Europe.[22] As a result of this migration, agriculture became the leading occupation in Kansas. By 1880, nearly 9,000,000 acres of land was under cultivation.[23] Coinciding with the population growth agriculture grew between the years of 1880-1887.[24]

With the great influx in settlers and increased farming, there arose a discontent with the status quo. Farmers were becoming unhappy with big business such as the railroads and high interest rates on their land, plus there was too much money being controlled by so few.[25] As a result, Populism took root and Kansas became the heart of this movement.[26]

Until 1878, there were few Blacks in Kansas, but in that year a movement began in some of the southern states to have Blacks emigrate to the western and northern states. So many Blacks left, that the movement it became known as "The Exodus."[27] During 1878-80, several thousand Blacks arrived in Kansas, a state which held much appeal because of its fight for freedom.[28] Blacks had farming equipment; thus many sought employment as farm hands.[28]

Kansas is now finding itself in a time of growth and prosperity.

Federal Census 1880

Shawnee Township was divided into an East and West district in the 1880 census. The following is a breakdown on the East census figures:

TOTAL POPULATION	WHITES	BLACKS	TOTAL
	998 (96.8%)	35 (3.2%)	1,033
OCCUPATIONS			
FARMING	194	5	199
HOUSEWIVES	190	8	198
HOUSEKEEPERS	8	1	9
GENERAL LABORERS	38	8	46
FARM LABORERS	80	2	82
SERVANTS	18	5	23
OTHERS (Teachers, Carpenters, Blacksmiths Grocers, Doctors, Stonemasons)	38	1	39
EDUCATION			
COULD NOT READ	9	16	25
COULD NOT WRITE	15	21	36
SCHOOLING			
AWAY AT SCHOOL	32		32
LOCAL SCHOOLING	219	1	220

BIRTHPLACE: FOREIGN COUNTRIES

GERMANY	17	IRELAND	5
ENGLAND	12	SWITZERLAND	4
PRUSSIA	10	BELGIUM	3
CANADA	6	SWEDEN	2
SCOTLAND	6	HUNGARY	2
		TOTAL	68

UNITED STATES BIRTHPLACE

KANSAS	278	IOWA	38
MISSOURI	141	PENN.	37
OHIO	80	NEW YORK	29
KENTUCKY	78	VIRGINIA	25
ILLINOIS	76	OTHERS	126
INDIANA	57		
		TOTAL	965

OTHER INFORMATION

1. Three women held jobs: one a dressmaker and two ran boarding houses.
2. There were thirty boys away at school and two girls.
3. Attending local schools were ninety-six boys and one hundred twenty-four girls. One Black male attended school.

Shawnee Township in 1880

From the 1880 census one can see that Kansas was on the move. The population of the East section of Shawnee was almost twice the size of the entire township in 1860. In addition, due to the migration from the South after the Civil War, Blacks were noticeable although still a small segment of the total population.

Farming continued to be the predominant occupation in 1880. It appears that the farms were becoming more productive as direct help to farmers (farm laborers) became a major classification in the census. Also, the diversity of other occupations in support of the community were enlarging. For the first time, professionals such as doctors, general tradesmen, and grocers were listed.

Kansas was seen as a land of opportunity for the Blacks who emigrated from the South. They wanted equality and a better chance to improve their economic status. However, most of the Blacks came with few skills, little education, and few possessions. For this reason, their standing in the community improved little. They had to be content with unskilled jobs offering little opportunity for advancement. Since they had a low level of education and needed the help of their children in providing necessities, few of the children received an education.

In 1880, the census differentiated between children at school in the district and those sent away to school. The number away at school was only thirteen percent of the total and they were almost exclusively male. It is interesting to note, however, that an equal number of girls and boys were attending the local school, indicating that there was some support for women's education. Unfortunately this did not hold true for the Blacks who were almost completely absent from the school system.

Immigrants continued to come from other countries into Kansas but reflected a smaller percentage of the population than in 1860. In fact, residents of East Shawnee reflected twenty-seven percent born in Kansas where this percentage in the 1869 census had been less than ten percent. Growth was coming from within the territory or from neighboring states. Shawnee Township and Kansas was starting to grow.[31]

Part III: Kansas 1900

The population in Kansas started to grow rapidly between the periods of 1870-1890.[32] In 1900, Kansas had a population of 1,470,495, ranking twenty-second in the nation.[33] Out of this total population, 91.4% were American born of which 47.1% were native Kansans.[34] Blacks totaled 51,939 of which forty-two percent were born in Kansas.[35]

Kansas had long been considered a "Yankee Puritan Commonwealth"; but settlers from New England were outnumbered in the late nineteenth century by settlers from Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania New York, and Kentucky.[36] In the year of 1890 foreign immigration peaked with ten percent of the population being German, Irish, and English.[37] Settlers born in other countries totaled 126,685 in 1900.[38]

Illiteracy figures based on persons ten years or older, showed Whites 2.9%, Blacks 22.3%, and foreign born 8.5%.[39]

A great transformation took place in Kansas in 1900. Mechanism in farming increased as did planted acreage. There was a tremendous need for foodstuffs from the rest of the country which greatly affected wheat production within Kansas.[40] During the years prior to World War I scientific agriculture became a part of the Kansas way of life.[41]

Kansas also progressed in education and we see the expansion of the public school system.

The late nineteenth century brought us the formation of the Progressives. The Progressive movement was made up primarily of White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants who wanted a better future for themselves and the nation.

The 1900s in Kansas shows a state that has grown both economically and in its population and has made many contributions to the country.

Federal Census 1900

Due to the length of the 1900 Federal Census, this survey reflects random sampling using every fifth adult listed as having an occupation.

COUNT	WHITES	BLACKS	TOTAL
	217	27	244
OCCUPATIONS			
FARMING	50	6	56
LABOR	78	15	93
SERVANTS	37	4	41
CARPENTERS	4		4
HOUSEKEEPERS	10	2	12
OTHERS (including Doctors, grocers, nurses, steno, newsboy, auctioneer, dressmaker, preacher and telegraph operator.)	31		31
EDUCATION			
CANNOT WRITE	7	5	12
CANNOT READ	4	4	8

RESIDENCE OR FARM

OWNED FARM	35	5	40
RENTED FARM	18	2	20
OWNED HOME	22	1	23
RENTED HOME	19	2	21

COUNTRY OF BIRTH

GERMANY	16	SCOTLAND	1
BELGIUM	7	FRANCE	1
ENGLAND	3	HOLLAND	1
SWITZERLAND	2	IRELAND	1
		TOTAL	32

UNITED STATES BIRTH PLACE

KANSAS	89	ILLINOIS	11
MISSOURI	27	INDIANA	9
OHIO	17	OTHERS	159
		TOTAL	212

OTHER INFORMATION

Eighteen women were employed as: housekeepers, farmers, nurses, stenos, milliners, servants, housekeepers, and dressmakers.

Shawnee Township 1900

The population between 1880 and 1900 had grown significantly; therefore, I sampled every fifth adult and any available information regarding them. I believe that this sampling represents the demographics of Shawnee in 1900.

Although I do not have an exact count, the number of people in Shawnee approximately doubled over the twenty year period. Farming remained the major single occupation, employing twenty-three percent of the population, but those who call themselves laborers now make up thirty-six percent of the total. Women had also improved their status as they are represented by seven percent of the active workforce; although they were predominantly in fields generally classified as female such as housekeepers and milliners.

Literacy was high in Shawnee during the periods of 1860, 1880 and remained so in 1900. In addition, Blacks had made some progress toward improving their literacy rate with approximately fifty percent able to read and write.

For the first time the census recorded whether a person owned or rented their home or farm. It was a surprise to me to find that one-third of the total farms were rented and half of the homes were rented. One would have expected a higher number owned as the settlers were quite individualistic. It could be assumed that even then wealthy individuals, banks, etc., controlled much of the real estate.

Foreign immigration continued to be a significant portion of the population representing about fifteen percent of the total. This was higher than the 1880 census indicating that Kansas was considered a better place to come to than in earlier years; it was easier to get there with the invention of the auto and railroad. States east of Kansas still represented the places where a majority of Kansans were born.

From 1860 to 1900 Shawnee had grown significantly.[42]

Conclusion

I believe that the era of Shawnee and Kansas I chose to review reflects the major period of growth and change. Shawnee went from a western territory on the outskirts of civilization to one that mirrored the nation as a whole. Agriculture was predominant over the manufacturing in Shawnee and in the eastern United States; the population of Shawnee reflected an educational level, and racial mix similar to the United States as a whole. We can see that the Civil War, railroads, growth in other professions, all affected Shawnee Township. Because Shawnee was starting as a frontier, the changes were more pronounced than what they were in the rest of the country.

In summary, Shawnee did mirror the changes occuring in the rest of Kansas and the United States. However, it kept a character of its own throughout the entire period. Shawnee Township developed into a civilized, rural center similar to other sections in the United States. In addition, it maintained its status as a jumping off center to the West.

FOOTNOTES

1. Robert W. Richmond, Kansas A Land of Contrasts (St. Louis: Forum Press, 1980), p. 127.
2. Ibid., p. 128.
3. Ibid., p. 128.
4. Ibid., p. 61.
5. Ibid., p. 62.
6. Ibid., p. 64.
7. Andrew A. Sinclair, A Concise History of the United States (New York: Viking Press, 1967), p. 106.
8. Ibid., p. 166.
9. Ibid., p. 172.
10. Ibid., p. 174.
11. Andreas, History of Kansas (A Bicentennial Project of Atchison County Historical Society, 1976).
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th edition, Vol. 13, p. 214.
15. Andreas, History of Kansas (A Bicentennial Project of Atchison County Historical Society, 1976), p. 240.
16. Anna E. Arnold, History of Kansas (Kansas, 1916).
17. Ibid.
18. 1860 Federal Census.
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21. Anne E. Arnold, History of Kansas (Kansas, 1916), p. 127.
22. Merit Students Encyclopedia, Vol. 10, 1979.
23. Anna E. Arnold, History of Kansas (Kansas, 1916), p. 146.

24. Ibid., p. 146.

25. Robert W. Richmond, Kansas A Land of Contrasts (St. Louis: Forum Press, 1980), p. 175.

26. Ibid., p. 176.

27. Anna E. Arnold, History of Kansas (Kansas, 1916), p. 126.

28. Ibid., p. 126.

29. Ibid., p. 127.

30. 1880 Federal Census.

31. Ibid.

32. Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th edition, Vol. 13, p. 214.

33. Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th edition, Vol. 15-16, p. 656.

34. Ibid., p. 656.

35. John D. Bright, Ph.D., Kansas the First Century (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1956), p. 534.

36. Collier's Encyclopedia, Vol. 13, 1982, p. 728.

37. Ibid., p. 728.

38. John D. Bright, Ph.D., Kansas the First Century (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1956), p. 534.

39. Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th edition, Vol. 15-16, p. 657.

40. Collier's Encyclopedia, Vol. 13, 1982, p. 734.

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42. 1900 Federal Census.

43. Ibid.

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